THE

British Plutarch;

OR,

BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION *of*

The LIVES at large

Of the moſt EMINENT MEN,

Natives of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*;

From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.

Both inclusive:

Whether diſtinguiſhed as

Stateſmen, | Warriors, | Poets,.....

Patriots,.... | Divines,.. | Philoſophers.

Adorned with COPPER PLATES.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

NINTH VOLUME.

Page

JOHN CHURCHILL, - - - - - 1

Matthew Prior, - - - - - - - 29

Gilbert Burnet, - - - - - - - - 48

George Granville, - - - - - - 74

Robert Harley, - - - - - - - 145

CONTENTS

OF THE

NINTH VOLUME.

	Page
John Churchill, - - - - - -	1
Matthew Prior, - - - - - - - -	29
Gilbert Burnet, - - - - - - - -	48
George Granville, - - - - - -	74
Robert Harley, - - - - - - - -	145

B M

John D. of Marlbrough.

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF JOHN CHURCHILL.

JOHN CHURCHILL, duke of Marlborough, and prince of the holy Roman empire, was eldeſt ſon of ſir Winſton Churchill, and born at Aſhe, in Devonſhire, on Midſummer-day, in the year 1650.

A clergyman in the neighbourhood inſtructed him in the firſt principles of literature; but his father having other views than what a learned education afforded, carried him very early to court, where he was particularly favoured

voured by James duke of York, when he was no more than twelve years of age.

He had a pair of colours given him in the guards during the firſt Dutch war, about the year 1666; and afterwards obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands, and beſieged by the Moors; where he reſided for ſome time, and cultivated attentively the ſcience of arms. Upon his return to England, he attended conſtantly at court, and was greatly reſpected by both the king and the duke.

In the year 1672, the duke of Monmouth commanding a body of Engliſh auxiliaries in the ſervice of France, Mr. Churchill attended him, and was ſoon after made a captain of grenadiers in his grace's own regiment. He had a ſhare in all the actions of that famous campaign againſt the Dutch; and at the ſiege of Nimeguen diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that he was particularly taken notice of by the celebrated marſhal Turenne, who beſtowed on him the name of the Handſome Engliſhman.

He ſhone out alſo with ſo much eclat at the reduction of Maeſtricht, that the French king thanked him for his behaviour at the head of the line; and aſſured him, that he would acquaint his ſovereign with it; which he did: and the duke of Monmouth, on his return to England, told the king his father, how much he had been indebted to the bravery of captain Churchill.

The laurels he brought from France were ſure to gain him preferment at home: accordingly

ingly the king made him a lieutenant-colonel, and the duke made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and ſoon after maſter of the robes. The ſecond Dutch war being over, colonel Churchill was again obliged to paſs his days at court, where he behaved with great prudence and circumſpection in the troubleſome times that enſued.

In the beginning of the year 1679, when the duke of York was conſtrained to retire from England to the Low-countries, colonel Churchill attended him, as he did throughout all his peregrinations, till he was ſuffered to reſide again in London. While he waited upon the duke in Scotland, he had a regiment of dragoons given him; and thinking it now time to take a conſort, he made his addreſſes to Mrs. Sarah Jennings, who waited on the lady Anne, afterwards queen of Great-Britain. This young lady, then about twenty-one years of age, and univerſally admired both for perſon and wit, he married in the year 1681, and thereby ſtrengthened the intereſt he already had at court.

In the ſpring of the year 1682, the duke of York returned to London; and having obtained leave to quit Scotland, reſolved to fetch his family from thence by ſea. For this purpoſe, he embarked on the ſecond of May, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon Oar, a dangerous ſand that lies about ſixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber; where his ſhip was loſt, with ſome men of quality, and upwards

of one hundred and twenty perſons on board her. He was particularly careful of colonel Churchill's ſafety, and took him into the boat in which himſelf eſcaped.

The firſt uſe made by his royal highneſs of his intereſt, after his return to court, was to obtain a title for his favourite; who, by letters-patent, bearing date on the firſt of December, 1682, was created baron of Eymouth, in Scotland, and alſo appointed colonel of the third troop of guards.

He was continued in all his poſts upon the coming of king James II. to the crown, who ſent him alſo his ambaſſador to France to notify his acceſſion. On his return, he aſſiſted at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April, 1685; and in May following was created a peer of England, by the title of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford.

In June, lord Churchill being then lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, was ordered into the weſt to ſuppreſs the duke of Monmouth's rebellion; which he did in a month's time, with an inconſiderable body of horſe, and took the duke himſelf priſoner. He was extremely well received by the king at his return from this victory, but ſoon diſcerned, as it is ſaid, the bad effects it produced, by confirming the king in an opinion, that, by virtue of a ſtanding-army, the religion and government of England might eaſily be changed. How far lord Churchill concurred with, or oppoſed, the king, while he

was

was forming this project, is hardly known. He does not appear to have been guilty of any mean compliances, or to have had any concern in adviſing or executing the violent proceedings of that unhappy reign: on the contrary, biſhop Burnet tells us, that "he very prudently declined meddling much in buſineſs, ſpoke little except when his advice was aſked, and then always recommended moderate meaſures." It is ſaid, he declared very early to the lord Galway, that, if his maſter attempted to overturn the eſtabliſhed religion, he would leave him; and, that he ſigned the memorial tranſmitted to the prince and princeſs of Orange, by which they were invited to reſcue this nation from popery and ſlavery. Be this as it will, it is certain that he remained with, and was entruſted by, the king, after the prince of Orange was landed on the fifth of November, 1688.

He attended king James, when he marched with his forces to oppoſe the prince, and had the command of five thouſand men; yet the earl of Feverſham, ſuſpecting his inclinations, adviſed the king to ſeize him. The king's affection to him was ſo great, that he could not be prevailed upon to do it; and this left him at liberty to go over to the prince; which he accordingly did, but without betraying any poſt, or carrying off any troops.

Whoever conſiders the great obligations lord Churchill lay under to king James, muſt naturally conclude, that he could not take the re-

ſolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the caſe, appears very plainly from the following letter, which he left for the king, to ſhew the reaſons of his conduct, and to expreſs his grief for the ſtep he was obliged to take.

"SIR,

"SINCE men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity, when they act contrary to their intereſts; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majeſty, in the worſt of times, for which I acknowledge my poor ſervices much overpaid, may not be ſufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majeſty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reaſonably convince your majeſty and the world, that I am actuated by an higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your majeſty, at a time when your affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects; much more from one who lies under the greateſt obligations imaginable to your majeſty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing, but the inviolable dictates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppoſe, and with which I am inſtructed nothing ought to come in competition.

"Heaven

"Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majeſty has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted men have framed againſt your majeſty's true intereſt and the proteſtant religion; but, as I can no longer join with ſuch, to give a pretence by conqueſt to bring them to effect, ſo I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune, ſo much your majeſty's due, endeavour to preſerve your royal perſon and lawful right, with all the tender concern and dutiful reſpect that becomes

"Your Majeſty's &c."

Lord Churchill was graciouſly received by the prince of Orange; and it is ſuppoſed to have been in conſequence of his lordſhip's ſollicitation, that prince George of Denmark took the ſame ſtep, as his conſort the princeſs Anne did ſoon after, by the advice of lady Churchill. He was intruſted, in that critical conjuncture, by the prince of Orange, firſt to re-aſſemble his troop of guards at London, and afterwards to reduce ſome lately raiſed regiments, and to new-model the army; for which purpoſe he was inveſted with the rank and title of lieutenant general.

The prince and princeſs of Orange being declared king and queen of England upon the ſixth of February, 1689, lord Churchill was, on the fourteenth, ſworn of their privy-council, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-

chamber to the king; and, on the ninth of April following, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts.

He aſſiſted at the coronation of their majeſties, and was ſoon after made commander-in-chief of the Engliſh forces ſent over to Holland. He preſided at the battle of Walcourt, which was fought upon the fifteenth of April, 1689, and gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of his ſkill, that prince Waldeck, ſpeaking in his commendation to king William, declared, That he ſaw more into the art of war in a day than ſome generals in many years.

It is to be obſerved, that king William commanded this year in Ireland; which was the reaſon of the earl of Marlborough's being at the head of the Engliſh troops in Holland; where he laid the foundation of that fame among foreigners, which he afterwards extended all over Europe.

He next did great ſervices for king William in Ireland, by reducing Cork, and ſome other places of much importance; in all which he ſhewed ſuch uncommon abilities, that, on his firſt appearance at court after his return, the king was pleaſed to ſay, That he knew no man ſo fit for a general, who had ſeen ſo few campaigns."

All theſe ſervices, notwithſtanding, did not hinder his being diſgraced in a very ſudden manner; for, being in waiting at court as lord of the bed-chamber, and having introduced to his majeſty lord George Hamilton,

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he was ſoon followed to his own houſe by that ſame lord, with this ſhort and ſurpriſing meſſage, That the king had no farther occaſion for his ſervices: the more ſurpriſing, as his majeſty, juſt before, had not diſcovered the leaſt coldneſs or diſpleaſure towards him. The cauſe of this diſgrace is not even at preſent known; but only expected to have proceeded from his too cloſe attachment to the intereſt of the princeſs Anne.

This ſtrange and unexpected blow was followed by one much ſtranger, for ſoon after he was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon; but was releaſed, and acquitted, upon the whole being diſcovered to be nothing more than the effects of a vile conſpiracy againſt him.

After queen Mary's death, when the intereſts of the two courts were brought to a better agreement, king William thought fit to recall the earl of Marlborough to his privy-council; and, upon the nineteenth of June, 1698, appointed him governor to the duke of Glouceſter, with this extraordinary compliment; "Make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wiſh to ſee him."

His lordſhip continued in favour to the time of the king's death, as appears from his having been three times appointed one of the lords juſtices during his abſence; namely, on the ſixteenth of July, 1698; on the thirty-firſt of May, 1699; and on the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1704.

As ſoon as it was diſcerned, that the death of Charles II. of Spain would become the occaſion of another general war, the king ſent a body of troops over to Holland, and made lord Marlborough commander in chief of them. He appointed him alſo ambaſſador extraordinary, and miniſter plenipotentiary to their high-mightineſſes; upon which he went immediately over to Holland. The king following, and taking a view of the forces, dined with the earl of Marlborough at his quarters on the thirtieth of October, 1700; and this was one of the laſt marks of honour and favour he received from king William, who died on the eighth of March following, unleſs the recommendation of his lordſhip to the princeſs of Denmark, a little before his death, as the propereſt perſon to be truſted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberty of Europe.

About a week after the king's death, he was elected knight of the moſt noble order of the garter; and ſoon after declared captain-general of all her majeſty's forces in England and abroad: upon which he was immediately ſent over to the Hague with the ſame character that he had the year before. His ſtay in Holland was very ſhort, only juſt long enough to give the ſtates-general the neceſſary aſſurances of his miſtreſs's ſincere intention to purſue the plan that had formerly been ſettled. The ſtates concurred with him in all that he propoſed, and made him captain-general of all their forces

forces, appointing him one hundred thouſand florins per annum.

On his return to England, he found the queen's council already divided; ſome being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only; others for declaring againſt France and Spain immediately, and ſo becoming principals at once. The earl of Marlborough joined with the latter; and theſe carrying their point, war was declared upon the fourth of May, 1702, and approved afterwards by parliament, tho' the Dutch, at that time, had not declared.

The earl took the command on the twentieth of June; and, diſcerning that the ſtates were made uneaſy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, he began with attacking and reducing them. Accordingly, in this ſingle campaign, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts; the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenſwaert; together with the city and citadel of Liege; which laſt was taken ſword in hand.

Theſe advantages were conſiderable, and acknowledged as ſuch by the ſtates, but they had like to have been of a very ſhort date; for the army ſeparating in the neighbourhood of Liege, on the third of November, the earl was taken the next day, in his paſſage by water, by a ſmall party of thirty men from the garriſon at Gueldres; but it being towards night, and the earl inſiſting upon an old paſs given to his brother, and now out of date, was ſuffered to proceed, and arrived at the

Hague, when they were in the utmoſt conſternation at the accident which had befallen him.

The winter approaching, the earl embarked for England, and arrived in London on the twenty-eighth of November. The queen had been complimented ſome time before by both houſes of parliament, on the ſucceſs of her arms in Flanders; in conſequence of which, there had been a public thankſgiving on the fourth of November, when her majeſty went in great ſtate to St. Paul's.

Soon after, a committee of the houſe of commons waited upon the earl with the thanks of the houſe; and, on the ſecond of December, her majeſty declared her intention in council, of creating his lordſhip a duke; which ſhe ſoon after did, by the title of marquis of Blandford, and duke of Marlborough. She likewiſe added a penſion of five thouſand pounds per annum out of the poſt-office during her own life; and ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, ſignifying her deſire, that it might attend the honour ſhe had lately conferred: but with this the houſe would not comply; contenting themſelves, in their addreſs to the queen, with applauding her manner of rewarding public ſervice, but declaring their inability to make ſuch a precedent for alienating the revenue of the crown.

He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on the eighth of February, 1702-3, his only ſon, the marquis of Blandford,

ſord, died at Cambridge, at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not, however, long retard his grace; but he paſſed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the ſixth of March.

The nature of our work will not ſuffer us to relate all the military acts in which the duke of Marlborough was engaged; it is ſufficient to ſay, that, numerous as they were, they were all ſucceſsful. The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-countries, and in that part of Germany which the elector of Cologn had put into their hands; and prodigious preparations were made under the moſt experienced commanders: but the vigilance and activity of the duke baffled them all.

When the campaign was over, his grace went to Duſſeldorp, to meet the emperor, then ſtiled Charles III. king of Spain, who made him a preſent of a rich ſword from his ſide, with very high compliments; and then returning to the Hague, after a very ſhort ſtay, came over to England.

He arrived on the thirteenth of October, 1703; and ſoon after, king Charles III. whom he had accompanied to the Hague, came likewiſe over to England, and arrived at Spithead the day after Chriſtmas-day; upon which the dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough were immediately ſent down to receive and conduct him to Windſor.

In the beginning of January, the ſtates-general deſired leave of her majeſty for his grace

of

of Marlborough to come to the Hague; which being granted, his grace embarked on the fifteenth, and paſſed over to Rotterdam. He went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the penſionary his ſenſe of the neceſſity there was of attempting ſomething the next campaign for the relief of the emperor, whoſe affairs at this time were in the utmoſt diſtreſs, having the Bavarians on one ſide, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incurſions to the very gates of Vienna, while his whole force ſcarce enabled him to maintain a defenſive war. This ſcheme being approved of, and the plan of it being adjuſted, the duke returned to England on the fourteenth of February.

When the meaſures were properly ſettled at home, the duke, on the eighth of April, 1704, embarked for Holland; where ſtaying about a month to adjuſt the neceſſary ſteps, he began his march towards the heart of Germany; and, after a conference held with the prince Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, he arrived before the ſtrong entrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburg, very unexpectedly, on the twenty-firſt of June; whom, after an obſtinate and bloody diſpute, he entirely routed. It was on this occaſion, that the emperor wrote the duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his great ſervices, and offering him a title of a prince of the empire; which

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he modeſtly declined, till the queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it.

He proſecuted this ſucceſs, and the battle of Hochſtet was fought by him and prince Eugene on the ſecond of Auguſt; when the French and Bavarians were the greateſt part of them killed and taken, and their commander, marſhal Tallard, made a priſoner.

After this glorious action, by which the empire was ſaved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the duke continued his purſuit, till he forced the French to repaſs the Rhine. Then prince Lewis of Baden laid ſiege to Landau, while the duke and prince Eugene covered it; but it was not taken before the twelfth of November. He made a tour alſo to Berlin; and, by a ſhort negotiation, ſuſpended the diſputes between the king of Pruſſia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties.

When the campaign was over, he returned to Holland, and, on the fourteenth of December, arrived in England. He brought over with him marſhal Tallard, and twenty ſix other officers of diſtinction; one hundred and twenty one ſtandards, and one hundred and ſeventy-nine colours; which, by her majeſty's order, were put up in Weſtminſter-hall.

He was received by the queen and her royal conſort, with the higheſt marks of eſteem, and had the ſolemn thanks of both houſes of parliament. Beſides this, the commons addreſſed her majeſty to perpetuate the memory of this victory;

victory; which ſhe did, by granting Woodſtock, with the hundred of Wotton, to him and his heirs for ever. This was confirmed by an act of parliament, which paſſed on the fourteenth of March following, with this remarkable clauſe, that they ſhould be held, by tendering to the queen, her heirs, and ſucceſſors, on the ſecond of Auguſt, every year, for ever, at the caſtle of Windſor, a ſtandard with three fleurs de lys painted thereon.

On the ſixth of January, the duke was feaſted by the city; and, on the eighth of February, the commons addreſſed the queen, to teſtify their thanks for the wiſe treaty, which the duke had concluded with the court of Berlin, by which a large body of Pruſſian troops were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy.

The next year, 1705, he went over to Holland in March, with a deſign to execute ſome great ſchemes, which he had been projecting in the winter. The campaign was attended with ſome ſucceſſes, which would have made a conſiderable figure in a campaign under any other general, but are ſcarcely worth mentioning where the duke of Marlborough commanded. He could not carry into execution his main project, on account of the impediments he met with from the allies, and in this reſpect was greatly diſappointed.

The ſeaſon for action being over, he made a tour to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the firſt of theſe, he acquired the

the entire confidence of the new emperor Joſeph, who preſented him with the principality of Mindelheim: at the ſecond, he renewed the contract for the Pruſſian forces: and, at the third, he reſtored a perfect harmony, and adjuſted every thing to the elector's ſatisfaction. After this, he returned to the Hague, and, towards the cloſe of the year, embarked for, and arrived ſafe in, England.

Upon the ſeventh of January following, the houſe of commons came to a reſolution, to thank his grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great ſervices; but, notwithſtanding this, it very ſoon appeared, that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt the war, and ſteps were taken to cenſure and diſgrace the conduct of the duke.

All things being concerted for rendering the next year's campaign more ſucceſsful than the former, the duke, in the beginning of April, 1706, embarked for Holland. This year the famous battle of Ramillies was fought, and won, upon the twelfth of May, being Whitſunday. The duke was twice here in the utmoſt danger, once by a fall from his horſe, and a ſecond time by a cannon-ſhot, which took off the head of colonel Bingfield, as he was holding the ſtirrup for his grace to remount.

The advantages gained by this victory were ſo far improved by the vigilance and wiſdom of the duke, that Louvain, Bruſſels, Mechlin, and

and even Ghent and Bruges, ſubmitted to king Charles III. of Spain without a ſtroke; and Oudenard ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The city of Antwerp followed this example. And thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a fortnight, the duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquiſate of the holy empire, to the obedience of king Charles. He afterwards took the towns of Oſtend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth.

The forces of the allies, after this glorious campaign, being about to ſeparate, his grace, on the ſixteenth of October, went to the Hague; where the propoſals, which France had made for peace, contained in a letter from the elector of Bavaria to the duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the miniſters of the allies; after which his grace embarked for England on the fifteenth of November.

He arrived at London upon the eighteenth of November, 1706; and, though at this time there was a party formed againſt him at court, yet the great ſervices he had done the nation, and the perſonal eſteem the queen always had for him, procured him an univerſal good reception.

The houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the queen, ſpoke of the ſucceſs of the campaign in general, and of the duke of Marlborough's ſhare in particular, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible; and the day after unanimouſly voted him their thanks; and the lords did the ſame.

ſame. They went ſtill farther; for, on the ſeventeenth of December, they addreſſed the queen for leave to bring in a bill to ſettle the duke's honours upon the male and female iſſue of his daughters. This was granted; and Blenheim-houſe, with the manor of Woodſtock, was, after the deceaſe of the ducheſs, upon whom they were ſettled in jointure, entailed in the ſame manner with the honours.

Two days after this, the ſtandards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in ſtate through the city, in order to be hung up in Guildhall, his grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the lord-mayor, which he accordingly did.

The laſt day of the year was appointed for a general thankſgiving, and her majeſty went in ſtate to St. Paul's; in which there was this ſingularity obſerved, that it was the ſecond thankſgiving within the year.

On the ſeventeeth of January, the houſe of commons preſented an addreſs to the queen, in which they ſignified, That, as her majeſty had built the houſe of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the duke of Marlborough's ſervices; and, as the houſe of lords had ordered a bill for continuing his honours; ſo they were deſirous to make ſome proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity. In conſequence of this, and of the queen's anſwer, the penſion of five thouſand pounds per annum from the poſt office was ſettled in the manner the queen had formerly deſired of another

ther houſe of commons, who happened not to be in quite ſo good a temper.

Theſe points adjuſted, his grace made haſte to return to his charge, it being thought neceſſary he ſhould acquaint the foreign miniſters at the Hague, that the queen of Great-Britain would hearken to no propoſals of peace but what would firmly ſecure the general tranquillity of Europe.

The campaign of the year 1707 proved the moſt barren one he ever made; which was chiefly owing to a failure on the part of the allies, who began to flag in ſupporting the common cauſe. Nor did things go on more to his mind at home; for, upon his return to England, after the campaign was over, he found that the fire, which he ſuſpected the year before, had broke out in his abſence; that the queen had a female favourite, who was in a fair way of ſupplanting the ducheſs; and that he liſtened to the inſinuations of a ſtateſman, who was no friend to him. He is ſaid to have borne all this with firmneſs and patience, though he eaſily ſaw whither it tended; and went to Holland, as uſual, early in the ſpring of the year 1708, arriving at the Hague on the nineteenth of March.

The enſuing campaign was carried on by the duke, in conjunction with prince Eugene, with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, that the French king thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to ſet on foot a negotiation for peace.

The

The houſe of commons this year gave an uncommon teſtimony of their reſpect for the duke of Marlborough; for, beſides addreſſing the queen, they, on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1708-9, unanimouſly voted thanks to his grace, and ordered them to be tranſmitted to him abroad by the ſpeaker.

His grace returned to England on the twenty-fifth of February; and, on his firſt appearance in the houſe of lords, received the thanks of that auguſt aſſembly. His ſtay was ſo very ſhort, that we need not dwell upon what paſſed in the winter. It is ſufficient to ſay, that they, who feared the dangerous effects of thoſe artful propoſals France had been making for the concluſion of a general peace, were alſo of opinion, that no body was ſo capable of ſetting their danger in a true light in Holland, as his grace of Marlborough. This induced the queen to ſend him thither, in the latter end of March, in the character of her plenipotentiary; which contributed not a little to the enemy's diſappointment, by defeating all their projects.

Marſhal Villars commanded the French army, in the campaign of the year 1709; and Lewis XIV. expreſſed no ſmall hopes of him, in ſaying, a little before the opening of it, that "Villars was never beat." However, the ſiege of Tournay, and the battle of Malplaquet, convinced the monarch, that Villars was not invincible.

Upon

Upon the news of the glorious victory gained upon the firſt of Auguſt, 1709, the city of London renewed the congratulatory addreſſes to the queen; and her majeſty in council, on the third of October following, ordered a proclamation for a general thankſgiving.

The duke of Marlborough came to St. James's on the tenth of November, and ſoon after received the thanks of both houſes; and the queen, as if deſirous of any occaſion to ſhew her kindneſs to his grace, appointed him lord lieutenant, and cuſtos rotulorum, of the county of Oxford. But, amidſt theſe honours, preferments, and favours, the duke was really chagrined to the laſt degree. He perceived, that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland; the affair of Dr. Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment; and the queen was not only eſtranged from the ducheſs of Marlborough, but had taken ſuch a diſlike to her, that ſhe ſeldom appeared at court.

In the beginning of the year 1710, the French ſet on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburg. The ſtates general, upon this, having ſhewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French plenipotentiaries, the houſe of commons immediately framed an addreſs to the queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the duke

duke of Marlborough over to the Hague. She did ſo; and, towards the latter end of February, his grace went to the Hague, where he met with prince Eugene, and ſoon after ſet out with him for the army, which was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

This campaign was very ſucceſsful, many towns being taken and fortreſſes reduced: notwithſtanding which, when the duke came over to England, as he did about the middle of December, he found his intereſt declining, and his ſervices ſet at nought. The negotiations for peace were carried on during a great part of the ſummer, but ended at laſt in nothing.

In the midſt of the ſummer, the queen began the great change in her miniſtry, by removing the earl of Sunderland from being ſecretary of ſtate; and, on the eighth of Auguſt, the lord-treaſurer Godolphin was likewiſe removed.

Upon the meeting of the parliament, no notice was taken in the addreſſes of the duke of Marborough's ſucceſs; an attempt, indeed, was made to procure him the thanks of the houſe of peers, but it was eagerly oppoſed by the duke of Argyle. His grace was kindly received by the queen, who ſeemed deſirous to have him live upon good terms with her new miniſtry; but this was thought impracticable, and it was every day expected, that he would lay down his commiſſion. He did not do this; but he carried the golden key, the enſign

enſign of the ducheſs of Marlborough's dignity, on the ninth of January, 1710-11, to the queen, and reſigned all her employments with great duty and ſubmiſſion. With the ſame firmneſs and compoſure he conſulted the neceſſary meaſures for the next campaign with thoſe whom he knew to be no friends of his; and treated all parties with candour and reſpect.

There is no doubt, that the duke felt ſome inward diſquiet, though he ſhewed no outward concern; at leaſt for himſelf: but, when the earl of Galway was indecently treated in the houſe of lords, the duke of Marlborough could not help ſaying, It was ſomewhat ſtrange that generals, who had acted according to the beſt of their underſtandings, and had loſt their limbs in the ſervice, ſhould be examined like offenders about inſignificant things.

An exterior civility, in court language ſtiled a good underſtanding, being eſtabliſhed between the duke and the new miniſtry, the duke went over to the Hague to prepare for the next campaign, which, at the ſame time, he knew would be his laſt. He exerted himſelf in an uncommon manner, and was attended with the ſame ſucceſs as uſual.

There was, in this campaign, a continued trial of ſkill between the duke of Marlborough and marſhal Villars; and, as great a general as the latter was, he was obliged at length to ſubmit to the former.

He

He embarked for England, when the campaign was over, and came to London upon the eighth of November. He ſhewed ſome caution in his manner of coming; for happening to land the very night of queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited on the queen at Hampton-court, who received him graciouſly. He was viſited by the miniſters, and viſited them; but he did not go to council, becauſe a negotiation of peace was then on the carpet, upon a baſis which he did by no means approve.

He acquainted her majeſty, in the audience he had at his arrival, that, as he could not concur in the meaſures of thoſe, who directed her councils, ſo he would not diſtract them by a fruitleſs oppoſition: yet, finding himſelf attacked in the houſe of lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war; he vindicated his conduct and character with great dignity and ſpirit: and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, appealed to the queen his miſtreſs, who was there incognito, for the falſhood of that imputation; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was ſuch a peace as might be expected from a war undertaken on ſo juſt motives, and carried on with uninterrupted ſucceſs.

This had a great effect on that auguſt aſſembly, and perhaps made ſome impreſſion on the queen; but, at the ſame time, it gave ſuch an

edge to the reſentment of his enemies, who were then in power, that they reſolved, at all adventures, to remove him. Thoſe who were thus reſolved to diveſt him of his commiſſion, found themſelves under a neceſſity to engage the queen to take it from him. This neceſſity aroſe chiefly from prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commiſſion from the emperor; and to give ſome colour to it, an enquiry was promoted in the houſe of commons to fix a very high imputation upon the duke, as if he had put very large ſums of public money into his pocket. When a queſtion to this purpoſe had been carried, the queen, by a letter conceived in very obſcure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occaſion for his ſervice, and diſmiſſed him from all his employments.

He was from this time expoſed to a moſt painful perſecution. On the one hand, he was attacked by the clamours of the populace, and by thoſe licentious ſcriblers, who are always ready to eſpouſe the quarrels of a miniſtry, and to inſult, without mercy, whatever they know may be inſulted with impunity. On the other hand, a proſecution was commenced againſt him by the attorney-general, for applying public money to his private uſe; and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-houſe, though ſet at work by the crown, were encouraged to ſue his grace for the money that was due to them. All his actions were alſo ſhamefully miſrepreſented.

Theſe

Theſe uneaſineſſes, joined to his grief for the death of the earl of Godolphin, inclined his grace to gratify his enemies by going into a voluntary exile. Accordingly, he embarked at Dover, upon the fourteenth of November, 1712; and landing at Oſtend, went from thence to Antwerp, and ſo to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank and merit. The ducheſs of Marlborough alſo attended her lord in all his journies, and particularly in his viſit to the principality of Mildenheim, which was given him by the emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace, which was made while the duke was abroad.

The concluſion of that peace was ſo far from reſtoring any harmony among the ſeveral parties of Great-Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly; inſomuch that the chiefs, deſpairing of ſafety in the way they were in, are ſaid to have ſecretly invited the duke of Marlborough back to England. Be that as it will, it is very certain that the duke took a reſolution of returning a little before the queen's death; and, landing at Dover; came to London upon the fourth of Auguſt, 1714.

He was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, by thoſe who, (upon the demiſe of the queen, which had happened upon the firſt of that month) were entruſted with the government; and upon the arrival of king George I. was particularly diſtinguiſhed by

acts of royal favour; for he was again declared captain-general, and commander in chief, of all his majesty's land-forces, colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance.

His advice was of great use in concerting those measures by which the rebellion in the year 1715 was crushed; and his advice on this occasion was the last effort he made in respect to public affairs; for his infirmities encreasing with his years, he retired from business, and spent the greatest part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his country-houses.

His death happened upon the sixteenth of June, 1722, in his seventy-third year, at Windsor-lodge; and his corpse, upon the ninth of August following, was interred, with the highest solemnity, in Westminster-abbey.

Besides the marquis of Blandford, whom we have already mentioned, his grace had four daughters, which married into the best families of the kingdom.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM
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Matthew Prior.

THE LIFE OF

MATTHEW PRIOR.

THIS celebrated poet was the ſon of Mr. George Prior, citizen of London, who was by profeſſion a joiner. Our author was born in 1664. His father dying when he was very young, left him to the care of an uncle, a vintner near Charing-croſs, who diſcharged the truſt that was repoſed in him with a tenderneſs truly paternal, as Mr. Prior always acknowledged with the higheſt profeſſions of gratitude.

He received part of his education at Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage; but was afterwards taken home by his uncle in order to be bred up to his trade.

Notwithſtanding this mean employment, to which Mr. Prior ſeemed now doomed, yet, at his leiſure hours, he proſecuted his ſtudy of the claſſics, and eſpecially his favourite Horace; by which means he was ſoon taken notice of by the polite company who reſorted to his uncle's houſe.

It happened one day, that the earl of Dorſet, being at this tavern, which he often fre-

quented with ſeveral gentlemen of rank, the diſcourſe turned upon the Odes of Horace; and, the company being divided in their ſentiments about a paſſage in that poet, one of the gentlemen ſaid, "I find we are not like to agree in our criticiſms; but, if I am not miſtaken, there is a young fellow in the houſe, who is able to ſet us all right:" upon which he named Prior, who was immediately ſent for, and deſired to give his opinion of Horace's meaning in the ode under conſideration. This he did with great modeſty, and ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the company, that the earl of Dorſet, from that moment, determined to remove him from the ſtation in which he was, to one more ſuited to his genius; and accordingly procured him to be ſent to St. John's college in Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1686, and afterwards became a fellow of the college.

During his reſidence in the univerſity, he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Charles Montague, eſq. afterwards earl of Halliſax; in conjunction with whom he wrote a very humorous piece, entitled, The Hind and Panther, tranſverſed to the ſtory of the Country Mouſe and the City Mouſe, printed, in 1687, in quarto, in anſwer to Mr. Dryden's Hind and Panther, publiſhed the year before.

Upon the revolution, Mr. Prior was brought to court by his great patron the earl of Dorſet, by whoſe intereſt he was introduced to public employ-

employment; and, in the year 1690, was made ſecretary to the earl of Berkley, plenipotentiary to king William and queen Mary at the congreſs at the Hague.

In this ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was afterwards appointed ſecretary to the earls of Pembroke, and Jerſey, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, ambaſſadors, and plenipotentiaries, at the treaty of Ryſwick, in 1697; as he was likewiſe, in 1698, to the earl of Portland, ambaſſador to the court of France.

While he was in that kingdom, one of the officers of the French king's houſhold, ſhewing him the royal apartments and curioſities at Verſailles, eſpecially the paintings of Le Brun, wherein the victories of Lewis XIV. are deſcribed, aſked him, Whether king William's actions were to be ſeen in his palace. "No, Sir;" replied Mr. Prior; "the monuments of my maſter's actions are to be ſeen every where, but in his own houſe."

In the year 1697, Mr. Prior was made ſecretary of ſtate for Ireland; and, in 1700, was created maſter of arts by mandamus; and appointed one of the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations, upon the reſignation of Mr. Locke. He was alſo member of parliament for Eaſt-Grinſted, in Suſſex.

In 1710, he was ſuppoſed to have had a ſhare in writing the Examiner; and particularly a

criticiſm in it upon a poem of Dr. Garth's to the earl of Godolphin, taken notice of in the life of Garth.

About this time, when Godolphin was defeated by Oxford, and the Tories, who had long been eclipſed by the luſtre of Marlborough, began again to hold up their heads; Mr. Prior and Dr. Garth eſpouſed oppoſite intereſts; Mr. Prior wrote for, and Garth againſt, the court. The Dr. was ſo far honeſt, that he did not deſert his patron in diſtreſs; and, notwithſtanding the cloud which then hung upon the party, he addreſſed verſes to him, which, however they may fail in poetry, bear the ſtrongeſt marks of gratitude and honour.

While Mr. Prior was thus very early initiated in public buſineſs, and continued in the hurry of buſineſs for many years, it muſt appear not a little ſurprizing, that he ſhould find ſufficient opportunities to cultivate his poetical talents to the amazing heighth he raiſed them. In his preface to his poems, he ſays, that poetry was only the product of his leiſure hours; that he had commonly buſineſs enough upon his hands; and, as he modeſtly adds, was only a poet by accident: but we muſt take the liberty of differing from him in the laſt particular; for Mr. Prior ſeems to have received from the muſes, at his nativity, all the graces they could well beſtow on their greateſt favourite.

We

We muſt not omit one inſtance in Mr. Prior's conduct, which will appear very remarkable. He was choſen a member of that parliament which impeached the Partition-Treaty, to which he himſelf had been ſecretary, and, though his ſhare in that tranſaction was conſequently very conſiderable, yet he joined in the impeachment upon an honeſt principle of conviction, that exceptionable meaſures attended it.

The lord Bolingbroke, who, notwithſtanding many exceptions made both to his conduct, and ſentiments, in other inſtances, yet muſt be allowed to be an accompliſhed judge of fine talents, entertained the higheſt eſteem for Mr. Prior, on account of his ſhining abilities.

This noble lord, in a letter dated on the tenth of September, 1712, addreſſed to Mr. Prior, while he was the queen's miniſter and plenipotentiary at the court of France, pays him the following compliment:

"For God's ſake, Matt. hide the nakedneſs of thy country, and give the beſt turn thy fertile brain will furniſh thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets."

——His lordſhip thus concludes his epiſtle:

"It is near three o'clock in the morning; I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue; excuſe therefore the confuſedneſs of this ſcroll;

which is only from Harry to Matt. and not from the ſecretary to the miniſter. Adieu, my pen is ready to drop out of my hand, it being now three o'clock in the morning: believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully

"Yours, &c.

"BOLINGBROKE."

There are ſeveral other letters from Bolingbroke to Prior, which, were it neceſſary, we might inſert as evidences of his eſteem for him; but Mr. Prior was, in every reſpect, ſo great a man, that the eſteem, even of lord Bolingbroke, connot add much to the luſtre of his reputation, both as a ſtateſman and a poet.

Mr. Prior is repreſented, by thoſe who knew, and have wrote concerning him, as a gentleman who united the elegance and politeneſs of a court, with the ſcholar and the man of genius. This repreſentation, in general, may be juſt; yet it holds almoſt invariably true, that they who have riſen from low life, ſtill retain ſome traces of their original. No cultivation, no genius, it ſeems, is able, entirely to ſurmount this. There was one particular in which Mr. Prior verified the old proverb.

The ſame woman who could charm the waiter in a tavern, ſtill maintained her dominion over the ambaſſador at France. The Chloe of Prior, it ſeems, was a woman in his

ſtation of life; but he never forſook her in the heighth of his reputation. Hence we may obſerve, that aſſociations with women are the moſt laſting of all; and, that, when an eminent ſtation raiſes a man above all other acts of condeſcenſion, a miſtreſs will maintain her influence; charm away the pride of greatneſs: and make the hero who fights, and the patriot who ſpeaks, for the liberty of his country, a ſlave to her. One would imagine, however, that this woman, who was a butcher's wife, muſt either have been very handſome, or have had ſomething about her ſuperior to people of her rank: but it ſeems the caſe was otherwiſe, and no better reaſon can be given for his attachment to her, but, that ſhe was his taſte. Her huſband ſuffered their intrigue to go unmoleſted; for he was proud even of ſuch a connection as this with ſo great a man as Prior.—A ſingular inſtance of good nature.

In the year 1715, Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and upon his arrival was taken up by a warrant from the houſe of commons; ſhortly after which, he underwent a very ſtrict examination by a committee of the privy-council. His political friend, lord Bolingbroke, foreſeeing a ſtorm, took ſhelter in France, and ſecured Harry, but left poor Matt. in the lurch.

On the tenth of June, Robert Walpole, eſq. moved the houſe againſt him; and, on

the ſeventh, Mr Prior was ordered into cloſe cuſtody, and no perſon was admitted to ſee him without leave from the ſpeaker. For the particulars of this procedure of the parliament, both againſt Mr. Prior, and many others concerned in the public tranſactions of the preceding reign, we refer to the hiſtories of that time.

In the year 1717, an act of grace was paſſed in favour of thoſe who had oppoſed the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, as well as thoſe who had been in open rebellion; but Mr. Prior was excepted out of it. At the cloſe of this year, however, he was diſcharged from his confinement, and retired to ſpend the reſidue of his days at Downhall in Eſſex.

The ſevere uſage which Mr. Prior met with, perhaps, was the occaſion of the following beautiful lines, addreſſed to his Chloe:

From public noiſe, and factious ſtriſe,
From all the buſy ills of life,
Take me, my Chloe, to thy breaſt,
And lull my wearied ſoul to reſt;
For ever, in this humble cell,
Let thee and I, my fair one, dwell;
None enter elſe, but Love;—and he
Shall bar the door, and keep the key.

To painted roofs, and ſhining ſpires,
Uneaſy ſeats of high deſires,

Let

Let the unthinking many croud,
That dare be covetous and proud;
In golden bondage let them wait,
And barter happineſs for ſtate.
But, oh! my Chloe, when thy ſwain
Deſires to ſee a court again,
May Heaven, around his deſtin'd head,
The choiceſt of his curſes ſhed;
To ſum up all the rage of Fate,
In the two things I dread and hate,
May'ſt thou be falſe, and I be great.

In July, 1725, within two months of his death, Mr. Prior publiſhed the following beautiful little tale, on the falſhood of mankind, entitled, The Converſation; and applied it to the truth, honour and juſtice of his grace the duke of Somerſet.

The CONVERSATION: a Tale.

IT always has been thought diſcreet
To know the company you meet;
And ſure there may be ſecret danger
In talking much before a ſtranger.
Agreed. What then? Then drink your ale;
I'll pledge you, and repeat my tale.

No matter where the ſcene is fix'd,
The perſons were but odly mix'd,
When ſober Damon thus began:
(And Damon is a clever man)

" I now

" I now grow old; but ſtill, from youth,
Have held for modeſty and truth:
The men who by theſe ſea-marks ſteer,
In life's great voyage, never err:
Upon this point, I dare defy
The world. I pauſe for a reply."

" Sir, either is a good aſſiſtant,"
Said one, who ſat a little diſtant;
" Truth decks our ſpeeches, and our books,
And Modeſty adorns our looks:
But farther progreſs we muſt take;
Not only born to look and ſpeak,
The man muſt act. The ſtagyrite
Says thus, and ſays extremely right:
Strict juſtice is the ſovereign guide,
That o'er our actions ſhould preſide:
This queen of virtue is confeſs'd
To regulate and bind the reſt.
Thrice happy, if you can but find
Her equal ballance poiſe your mind:
All diff'rent graces ſoon will enter,
Like lines concurrent to their center."

'Twas thus, in ſhort, theſe two went on,
With yea, and nay, and pro, and con;
Thro' many points divinely dark,
And Waterland aſſaulting Clark;
'Till, in theology half loſt,
Damon took up the Evening Poſt;
Confounded Spain, compos'd the North,
And deep in politics held forth.

" Methinks,

" Methinks, we're in the like condition,
As at the Treaty of Partition;
That ſtroke, for all king William's care,
Regat another tedious war.
Matthew, who knew the whole intrigue,
Ne'er much approv'd that myſtic league;
In the vile Utrecht treaty too,
Poor man! he found enough to do.
Sometime to me he did apply;
But downright Dunſtable was I,
And told him where they were miſtaken,
And counſell'd him to ſave his bacon:
But (paſs his politics and proſe)
I never herded with his foes;
Nay, in his verſes, as a friend,
I ſtill found ſomething to commend.
Sir, I excus'd his Nut-brown Maid,
Whate'er ſeverer critics ſaid:
Too far, I own, the girl was try'd;
The women all were on my ſide.
For Alma I return'd him thanks;
I lik'd her with her little pranks:
Indeed, poor Solomon, in rhime,
Was much too grave to be ſublime."

Pindar and Damon ſcorn tranſition,
So on he ran a new diviſion;
Till, out of breath, he turn'd to ſpit:
(Chance often helps us more than wit)
T'other, that lucky moment took,
Juſt nick'd the time, broke in, and ſpoke:

" Of

" Of all the gifts the gods afford
(If we may take old Tully's word)
The greateſt is a friend, whoſe love
Knows how to praiſe, and when reprove:
From ſuch a treaſure never part,
But hang the jewel on your heart.
And pray, Sir, it delights me, tell;
You know this author mighty well,"——
" Know him! D'ye queſtion it? ods fiſh!
Sir, does a beggar know his diſh?
I lov'd him, as I told you, I
Advis'd him"—Here a ſtander-by
Twitch'd Damon by the cloak,
And thus unwilling ſilence broke:
" Damon, 'tis time we ſhould retire,
The man you talk with is Matt. Prior."

Patron, thro' life, and from thy birth, my friend,
Dorſet, to thee this fable let me ſend;
With Damon's lightneſs weigh thy ſolid worth;
The foil is known to ſet the diamond forth:
Let the feign'd tale this real moral give,
How many Damons, how few Dorſets, live!

Mr. Prior, after the fatigue of a length of years paſſed in various ſervices of action, was deſirous of ſpending the remainder of his days in rural tranquility, which the greateſt men of all ages have been fond of enjoying: he was ſo happy as to ſucceed in his wiſh, living a very retired, and contemplative life, at Down-

hall

hall, in Eſſex; and found, as he expreſſed himſelf, a more ſolid, and innocent, ſatisfaction, among the woods, and meadows, than he had enjoyed in the hurry, and tumults of the world, the courts of princes, or the conducting foreign negotiations; and where, as he melodiouſly ſings,

The remnant of his days he ſafely paſt,
Nor found they lagg'd too ſlow, nor flew too faſt;
He made his wiſh with his eſtate comply,
Joyful to live, yet not afraid to die.

This great man died on the eighteenth of September, 1721, at Wimple, in Cambridgeſhire, the ſeat of the earl of Oxford, with whoſe friendſhip he had been honoured for ſome years. The death of ſo diſtinguiſhed a perſon was juſtly eſteemed an irreparable loſs to the polite world; and his memory will be ever dear to thoſe who have any reliſh for the muſes in their ſofter charms.

Some of the latter part of his life was employed in collecting materials for an Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of his own Times; but his death unfortunately deprived the world of what the touches of ſo maſterly a hand would have made exceeding valuable.

Mr. Prior, by the ſuffrage of all men of taſte, holds the firſt rank in poetry for the delicacy of his numbers; the wittineſs of his

turns; the acuteneſs of his remarks; and, in one performance, for the amazing force of his ſentiments. The ſtile of our author is likewiſe ſo pure, that our language knows no higher authority; and there is an air of original in his minuteſt performances.

It would be ſuperfluous to give a detail of his poems, they are all in the hands of thoſe who love poetry; and have been as often admired as read. The performance, however, for which he is moſt diſtinguiſhed, is his Solomon; a poem in three books: the firſt, on Knowledge; the ſecond, on Pleaſure; and the third, on Power. We know few poems to which this is ſecond, and it juſtly eſtabliſhed his reputation as one of the beſt writers of his age.

This ſublime work begins thus,

Ye ſons of men, with juſt regard attend,
Obſerve the preacher, and regard the friend,
Whoſe ſerious muſe inſpires him to explain,
That all we act, and all we think, is—vain:
That, in this pilgrimage of ſeventy years,
O'er rocks of perils, and thro' vales of tears,
Deſtin'd to march, our doubtful ſteps we tend,
Tir'd of the toil, yet fearful of its end:
That, from the womb, we take our fatal ſhares
Of follies, faſhions, labours, tumults, cares;

And,

And, at tho approach of death, ſhall only know,
The truths which from theſe penſive numbers flow,
That we purſue falſe joy, and ſuffer real woe.

After an enquiry into, and an excellent deſcription of, the various operations and effects of nature, the ſyſtem of the heavens, &c. and not being fully informed of them, the firſt book concludes,

How narrow limits were to wiſdom given?
Earth ſhe ſurveys; ſhe thence would meaſure heaven:
Thro' miſts obſcure now wings her tedious way;
Now wanders dazzl'd with too bright a day;
And, from the ſummit of a pathleſs coaſt,
Sees infinite, and in that ſight is loſt.

In the ſecond book, the uncertainty, diſappointment, and vexation, attending pleaſure in general, are admirably deſcribed; and, in the character of Solomon, is ſufficiently ſhewn, that nothing debaſes majeſty, or indeed any man, more than ungovernable paſſion.

When thus the gath'ring ſtorms of wretched love,
In my ſwoln boſom, with long war had ſtrove;

At length they broke their bounds; at length their force
Bore down whatever met its ſtronger courſe:
Laid all the civil bounds of manhood waſte,
And ſcatter'd ruin as the torrent paſt.

The third book treats particularly of the trouble and inſtability of greatneſs and power; conſiders man through the ſeveral ſtages and conditions of life, and has excellent reaſoning upon Life and Death. On the laſt are theſe lines:

Cure of the miſer's wiſh, and coward's fear,
Death only ſhews us what we knew was near.
With courage therefore view the pointed hour;
Dread not Death's anger, but expect its power;
Nor Nature's laws with fruitleſs ſorrow mourn;
But die, oh mortal man! for thou waſt born.

The poet has likewiſe theſe Similes on Life:

As ſmoke that riſes from the kindling fires
Is ſeen this moment, and the next expires;
As empty clouds by riſing winds are toſt,
Their fleeting forms no ſooner found than loſt;
So vaniſhes our ſtate; ſo paſs our days;
So life but opens now, and now decays:
The cradle and the tomb, alas! ſo nigh;
To live is ſcarce diſtinguiſh'd from to die.

We ſhall conclude this account of Mr. Prior's Life with the following copy of verſes,

written on his death, by Robert Ingram, eſq. which is a very ſucceſsful imitation of Mr. Prior's manner.

I.

Mat. Prior!—(and we muſt ſubmit)
Is at his journey's end;
In whom the world has loſt a wit,
And I, what's more, a friend.

II.

Who vainly hopes long here to ſtay,
May ſee, with weeping eyes,
Not only nature poſts away,
But e'en good-nature dies!

III.

Should grave ones count theſe praiſes light,
To ſuch it may be ſaid;
A man, in this lamented wight,
Of buſineſs too is dead.

IV.

From anceſtors, as might a fool!
He trac'd no high-fetch'd ſtem;
But glorioufly revers'd the rule,
By dignifying them.

V.

Oh! gentle Cambridge! ſadly ſay,
Why fates are ſo unkind

To

To ſnatch thy giant ſons away,
Whilſt pigmies ſtay behind?

VI.

Horace and he were call'd, in haſte,
From this vile earth to heav'n;
The cruel year not fully paſt,
Ætatis, Fifty-ſeven.

VII.

So, on the tops of Lebanon,
Tall cedars felt the ſword,
To grace, by care of Solomon,
The temple of the Lord.

VIII.

A tomb amidſt the learned may
The weſtern abbey give!
Like their's, his aſhes muſt decay;
Like their's, his fame ſhall live.

IX.

Cloſe, carver, by ſome well-cut books,
Let a thin buſto tell,
In ſpite of plump and pamper'd looks,
How ſcantly ſenſe can dwell!

X.

No epitaph of tedious length
Should overcharge the ſtone;

Since

Since loftieſt verſe would loſe its ſtrength,
In mentioning his own.

XI.

At once! and not verboſely tame,
Some brave Laconic pen
Should ſmartly touch his ample name,
In form of———O rare Ben!

The LIFE of

GILBERT BURNET.

GILBERT BURNET, biſhop of Saliſbury, was born at Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of September, 1643. His father was the younger brother of an antient family in Aberdeenſhire, and bred to the civil-law; in which, though he made no ſhining figure at the bar, his modeſty depreſſing too much his abilities, he raiſed himſelf to ſo great a reputation, that, at the reſtoration of king Charles II. he was, in reward of his conſtant attachment to the royal party, appointed one of the lords of ſeſſion at Edinburgh. His mother was ſiſter to the famous Sir Alexander Johnſtoun, and a warm zealot for preſbytery.

Mr. Burnet being out of employment, by reaſon of his refuſing to acknowledge Cromwell's authority, took upon himſelf the charge of his ſon's education, who, at ten years of age, was ſent to the college of Aberdeen. His father, who ſtill continued to be his principal inſtructor, obliged him to riſe to his ſtudies at four o'clock every morning; by which means he contracted ſuch a habit as he never diſcontinued till a few years before his death, when

Bishop Burnet.

72
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when age and infirmities rendered a greater proportion of reſt neceſſary to him.

Though his father had deſigned him for the church, yet he would not divert him from purſuing his own inclination to civil and feudal law, to which ſtudy he applied himſelf a whole year, and received from it, as he was often heard to ſay, juſter notions concerning the foundations of civil-ſociety, and government, than are maintained by ſome divines. He altered his reſolution of proſecuting this ſtudy, and applied, with his father's warm approbation, to that of divinity.

In his hours of amuſement, he ran through many volumes of hiſtory; and, as he had a very ſtrong conſtitution, and a prodigious memory, this cloſe application was no inconvenience to him; ſo that he made himſelf maſter of a vaſt extent of learning, which he had ready for his uſe upon all occaſions.

At eighteen, he was admitted a probationer, or expectant preacher; and ſoon after an offer of a good benefice was made him, which he declined.

In 1669, about two years after the death of his father, he came into England; and, after ſix months ſtay at Oxford and Cambridge, returned to Scotland; which he ſoon after left again, to make a tour of ſome months, in 1674, in Holland and France. At Amſterdam, by the help of a Jewiſh rabbi, he perfected himſelf in the Hebrew language, and likewiſe became acquainted with the leading

men of the different perſuaſions tolerated in that country; as Calviniſts, Armenians, Lutherans, Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Papiſts, and Unitarians; amongſt each of which he uſed frequently to declare, he met with men of ſuch unfeigned piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a ſtrong principle of univerſal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities, on account of religious diſſenſions.

On his return to Scotland, he was admitted into holy orders, by the biſhop of Edinburgh, in 1665, and preſented to the living of Saltoun. The conduct of the Scotch biſhops ſeemed to him unbecoming the epiſcopal character, that he drew up a memorial of their abuſes.

In 1668, he was employed in negotiating the ſcheme of accommodation between the epiſcopal and preſbyterian parties; and, by his advice, many of the latter were put into the vacant churches.

The year following, he was made divinity profeſſor at Glaſgow; where he continued four years and a half, equally hated by the zealots of both parties. In the frequent viſits he made to the ducheſs of Hamilton, he ſo far gained her confidence, as to be intruſted with the peruſal and arrangement of her papers relating to her father's and uncle's miniſtry; which put him upon writing Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, and occaſioned his being invited to London by the earl of Lauderdale, who

who offered to furniſh him with ſome anecdotes towards compiling thoſe Memoirs.

During his ſtay in London, we are told by his ſelf and ſon, he was offered the choice of four biſhoprics in Scotland, which he refuſed.

On his return to Glaſgow, he married lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the earl of Caſſilles, a lady of great piety and knowledge, highly eſteemed by the Preſbyterians, to whoſe ſentiments ſhe was ſtrongly inclined. As there was ſome diſparity in their ages, that it might remain paſt diſpute, that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretenſion to her fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no intention to ſecure it.

In 1672, he publiſhed, A Vindication, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland; which, at that juncture, was looked upon as ſo great a ſervice, that he was again offered a biſhopric, and a promiſe of the next vacant arch biſhopric, but did not accept of it, becauſe he remarked, that the great deſign of the court was to advance popery.

In 1673, he took another journey to London; and, by the king's own nomination, after hearing him preach, was made one of his chaplains in ordinary.

Upon his return to Scotland, he retired to his ſtation at Glaſgow, but was obliged the next year to return to court, to juſtify himſelf againſt the accuſations of duke Lauderdale, who had repreſented him as the cauſe of the miſcarriages of all the court meaſures in Scotland. The king received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of chaplains; yet, at the duke of York's intreaty, conſented to hear what he could offer in his own juſtification; with which he ſeemed to be ſatisfied: nevertheleſs, as Lauderdale had not dropt his reſentment, Mr. Burnet, who was told that his enemies had a deſign to get him impriſoned, reſigned his profeſſor's chair at Glaſgow, and reſolved to ſettle in London.

He preached in ſeveral churches, and had been actually choſe miniſter of one, had not the electors been deterred from it by a letter in the king's name.

About this time the living of Cripple-gate being vacant, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, in whoſe gift it was, hearing of his circumſtances and the hardſhips he had undergone, ſent him an offer of the benefice; but, as he had been informed of their firſt intention of conferring it on Dr. Fowler, he generouſly declined it.

In 1675, at the recommendation of lord Hollis, whom he had known in France, ambaſſador at that court, he was, by Sir Harbottle

bottle Grimſtone, maſter of the rolls, appointed preacher of the chapel there, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the court. He was ſoon after choſen a lecturer of St. Clement's, and became one of the preachers that were moſt followed in town.

In 1679, he publiſhed his Hiſtory of the Reformation, for which he had the thanks of both houſes of parliament.

Two years after, he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame approbation as the firſt.

About this time he attended a ſick perſon, who had been engaged in an amour with the earl of Rocheſter. The manner in which he treated her, during her illneſs, gave that lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, he ſpent one evening a week with Mr. Burnet; who diſcourſed with him upon all thoſe topics, upon which ſceptics, and men of looſe morals, attack the Chriſtian religion. The happy effect of theſe conferences occaſioned the publication of his account of the life and death of that earl.

In 1682, when the adminiſtration was changed in favour of the duke of York, being much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties, in order to avoid returning viſits, he built a laboratory, and, went, for above a year, through a courſe of chemical experiments. Not long after, he refuſed a living of three hundred a year, offered him by the earl

off Eſſex, on the terms of not reſiding there, but in London.

His behaviour at the lord Ruſſel's trial, and his attendance on him in priſon, and at his execution, with the ſuſpicion of his being concerned in drawing up that nobleman's ſpeech, having drawn on him the indignation of the court, he took a ſhort tour to Paris, where unuſual civilities were ſhewn him by the king of France's expreſs direction; and he became acquainted with ſeveral eminent perſons; but, not thinking it right to be longer abſent from the duties of his calling, he returned to London; and that very year, in purſuance of the king's mandate, was diſcharged from his lecture-ſhip at St. Clement's; and having, on the fifth of November, 1684, preached a ſermon at the Roll's chapel, ſeverely inveighing againſt the doctrines of popery, and the principles of the Papiſts, he was, in December following, forbid to preach there any more.

On king James's acceſſion to the throne, having obtained leave to go out of the kingdom, he firſt went to Paris, and lived in great retirement, till, contracting an acquaintance with brigadier Stouppe, a proteſtant gentleman in the French ſervice, he made a tour with him to Italy.

He met with an agreeable reception at Rome: pope Innocent II. hearing of our author's arrival, ſent the captain of the Swiſs guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony

of

of kiſſing his holineſs's ſlipper, but Dr. Burnet excuſed himſelf as well as he could.

One evening, upon viſiting cardinal Howard, he found him diſtributing ſome relicks to two French gentlemen; when he whiſpered to him in Engliſh, that it was ſomewhat odd, that a clergyman of the church of England ſhould be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The cardinal ſmiled at the remark; and repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen, how bold the heretics, and how mild the cardinals were at Rome.

Some diſputes which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which, upon an intimation given him by the prince Borgheſe, he accordingly did, and purſued his travels through Switzerland and Germany.

In 1688, he came to Utrecht, with an intention to ſettle in ſome of the ſeven provinces. There he received an invitation from the prince and princeſs of Orange, to whom their party in England had recommended him, to come to the Hague; which he accepted. He was ſoon made acquainted with the ſecret of their counſels, and adviſed the fitting out of a fleet in Holland ſufficient to ſupport their deſigns and encourage their friends. This, and the account of his travels, in which he endeavoured to blend popery and tyranny together, and repreſent them as inſeparable; with

ſome papers, reflecting on the proceedings of England, that came out in ſingle ſheets, and were diſperſed in ſeveral parts of England, moſt of which Mr. Burnet owns himſelf the author of, alarmed king James, and were the occaſion of his writing twice againſt him to the princeſs of Orange; and inſiſting, by his ambaſſador, on his being forbid the court: which, after much importunity, was done, though he continued to be truſted and employed as before, the Dutch miniſters conſulting him daily. But that which gave, he tells us, the criſis to the king's anger, was, the news of Burnet's being to be married to a conſiderable fortune at the Hague.

To put an end to his frequent conferences with the miniſters, a proſecution for high-treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him both in England and Scotland; but Burnet receiving the news thereof before it came to the ſtates, he avoided the ſtorm, by petitioning for, and obtaining, without any difficulty, a bill of naturalization, in order to his intended marriage with Mary Scot, a Dutch lady of conſiderable fortune, who, with the advantage of birth, had thoſe of a fine perſon and underſtanding.

After his marriage with this lady, being legally under the protection of Holland, he undertook, in a letter to the earl of Middleton, to anſwer all the matters laid to his charge; and added, that, being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance was, during his ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his majeſty to the

the ſtates-general; and, in another letter, that if, upon non appearance, a ſentence ſhould be paſſed againſt him, he might, to juſtify himſelf, be forced to give an account of the ſhare he had in affairs, in which he might be led to mention what he was afraid would not pleaſe his majeſty.

Theſe expreſſions gave ſuch offence to the Engliſh court, that, dropping the former proſecution, they proceeded againſt him as guilty of high-treaſon; and a ſentence of outlawry was paſſed upon him; and thereupon the king firſt demanded him to be delivered up, and afterwards inſiſted on his being baniſhed the Seven Provinces; which the ſtates refuſed; alledging, that he was become their ſubject; and, if the king had any thing to lay to Dr. Burnet's charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their courts.

This put an end to all farther application to the ſtates; and Dr. Burnet, ſecured from any danger, went on in aſſiſting and forwarding the important affair of the revolution. He gave early notice of it to the court of Hanover; intimating, that the ſucceſs of that project muſt naturally end in a ſucceſſion of that illuſtrious houſe to the Britiſh crown. He wrote alſo ſeveral pamphlets in ſupport of the prince of Orange's deſigns, and aſſiſted in drawing up his declaration, &c. and when he undertook the expedition to England, Dr. Burnet accompanied him as his chaplain.

After

After his landing at Exeter, he propoſed and drew up the aſſociation, and was of no ſmall ſervice on ſeveral occaſions by a ſeaſonable diſplay of pulpit-eloquence, to animate the prince's followers, and gain over others to his intereſt.

Nor did his ſervices paſs unrewarded; for king William had not been many days on the throne before Dr. Burnet was advanced to the ſee of Saliſbury, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, deceaſed, being conſecrated on the thirty-firſt of May, 1689. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of lords, by declaring for moderate meaſures with regard to the clergy, who ſcrupled to take the oaths, and for a toleration of the proteſtant diſſenters.

A paſſage in his paſtoral letter to the clergy of his dioceſe, concerning the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance to king William and queen Mary, dated on the fifteenth of May, 1689, which ſeemed to ground their title to the crown on the right of conqueſt, gave ſuch offence to both houſes of parliament, that they ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

As ſoon as the ſeſſion of parliament in 1689 was ended, he went down to his dioceſe; where he was very exact in the diſcharge of his function; and was particularly ſcrupulous in conferring of orders and admitting to livings.

In 1698, he loſt his wife by the ſmall-pox; and, as he was, almoſt immediately after, ap-

pointed preceptor to the duke of Glouceſter, of whoſe education he took great care, this employment, and the tender age of his children, induced him the ſame year to ſupply her loſs, by a marriage with Mrs. Berkley, eldeſt daughter of Sir Richard Blake, knight, the fifth ſon of Thomas Blake, of Earantoun, in the county of Southampton, eſq. of an antient family; and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Dr Bathurſt, an eminent phyſician in London. She was born on the eighth of November, 1661.

At a little more than ſeventeen years of age, ſhe was married to Robert Berkley, of Spetchly, in the county of Worceſter, eſq. grandſon of Sir Robert Berkley, who was a judge in the time of king Charles I.

Mr. Berkley's mother was a papiſt, but Mr. Berkley himſelf a proteſtant; which put Mrs. Berkley upon ſtudying her own religion more fully, and obliged her to a more than ordinary ſtrictneſs in her whole conduct.

In king James's time, when the fears of popery began to increaſe, ſhe prevailed with her huſband to go to Holland, and travelled with him over the ſeventeen provinces; after which they ſettled at the Hague, till the revolution, when they returned to England, and their country ſeat at Spetchly.

After his death, ſhe perfected the hoſpital at Worceſter, for the erecting of which he had bequeathed a large ſum of money.

During the widowhood, ſhe made the firſt draught of that pious treatiſe, which ſhe afterwards finiſhed and publiſhed, entitled, A Method of Devotion: or, Rules for Holy and Devout Living; with Prayers on Several Occaſions, and Advices, and Devotions for the Holy Sacrament: in octavo. This piece has been ſo well received as to run through three editions.

After continuing a widow near ſeven years, ſhe was married to the biſhop of Saliſbury; who was ſo ſenſible of her worth and goodneſs, that he committed the care of his children entirely to her, and left her abſolute miſtreſs of her own fortune.

In 1707, ſhe took a journey to Spaw for her health, and, after her return, ſeemed to be much recovered; but, the winter following, upon the breaking of the froſt in January, ſhe was taken with a pleuretic fever, of which ſhe died in a few days, and was buried at Spetchly, by her former huſband, according to a promiſe ſhe had made him, as appears by a clauſe in her will.——She was a lady, in every reſpect, of moſt exemplary life and converſation.

To give the reader an idea of the biſhop's ability and diligence in educating the duke of Glouceſter, we muſt refer him to his own words.

"I took to my own province, the reading and explainining the ſcriptures to him; the inſtructing

inſtructing him in the principles of religion and the rules of virtue; and the giving him a view of hiſtory, geography, politics, and government. I reſolved alſo to look very exactly to all the maſters that were appointed to teach him other things."

In another place, ſpeaking of the duke of Glouceſter's death, he ſays,

"I had been truſted with his education now for two years, and he made an amazing progreſs; I had read over the Pſalms, Proverbs, and Goſpels, with him; and had explained things, that fell in my way, very copiouſly. I went through geography ſo often with him, that he knew all the maps very particularly: I explained to him the forms of government in every country, with the intereſts and trade of that country, and what was both good and bad in it: I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman hiſtories, and of Plutarch's Lives. The laſt thing I explained to him was the Gothic conſtitution; and the beneficiary and feudal laws: I talked of theſe things, at different times, near three hours a day."

We ſhall juſt touch upon the principal parts of his conduct as a biſhop, which are deſcribed at large by the author of his life.

As he had always looked upon confirmation as the likelieſt means of reviving a ſpirit of Chriſtianity, if men could be brought to entertain juſt notions concerning it, he wrote a ſhort

ſhort Directory, containing proper rules for preparing the youth upon ſuch occaſions. This he printed, and ſent copies of it, ſome months before hand, to the miniſter of every pariſh where he intended to confirm.

Every ſummer, he made a tour, for ſix weeks, or two months, through ſome diſtrict of his biſhopric, daily preaching and confirming from church to church; ſo as, in the compaſs of three years, beſides his triennial viſitation, to go through all the principal livings of his dioceſe. In theſe circuits, he entertained all the clergy that attended upon him at his own expence, and held conferences with them upon the chief heads of divinity.

During his reſidence at Saliſbury, he conſtantly preached a Thurſday's lecture, founded at St. Thomas's church. He likewiſe preached and confirmed, every Sunday morning, in ſome church of that city, or of the neighbourhood round about it; and, in the evening, he had a lecture in his own chapel, wherein he explained ſome portion of ſcripture. Every week, during the ſeaſon of Lent, he catechiſed the youth of the two great ſchools in the cathedral church, and inſtructed them in order for confirmation. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes of the biſhop's conſtitutional court. No part of the epiſcopal office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the examination of candidates for holy orders. He examined them himſelf, as to the proofs of the Chriſtian religion,

gion, the authority of the ſcriptures, and the nature of the goſpel-covenant; and, a day or two before ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe, whom he had accepted, to the examination of the dean and prebendaries.

As the qualification of clergymen for the paſtoral care was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, he inſtituted at Saliſbury a little nurſery of ſtudents in divinity, being ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a ſalary of thirty pounds a year. Once every day, he examined their progreſs in learning, and gave them a letter on ſome ſpeculative point of divinity, or ſome part of the paſtoral function: but this foundation being exclaimed at, as a deſigned affront upon the method of education at the univerſities, he was prevailed upon, after ſome years, to lay it wholly aſide.

He was a warm and conſtant enemy to pluralities, where non-reſidence was the conſequence of them, and in ſome caſes hazarded a ſuſpenſion rather than give inſtitution. In the point of reſidence, he was ſo ſtrict, that he immediately diſmiſſed his own chaplains upon their preferment to a cure of ſouls.

He exerted the principle of toleration, which was deeply rooted in him, in favour of a non-juring meeting-houſe at Saliſbury, which he obtained the royal permiſſion to connive at; and this ſpirit of moderation brought over ſeveral diſſenting families of his dioceſe to the communion of the church.

In

In 1699, he publiſhed his Expoſition on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. In 1704, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his project for augmenting poor livings carried into execution.

The laſt five years of his life he grew more abſtracted from the world than he had been in the former part of it. He lived to ſee a ſucceſſion take place, and that family eſtabliſhed, in whoſe intereſts he had been ſo zealous; and died on the ſeventeenth of March, 1714-15, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age; and was interred in the pariſh of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

After his death, his Hiſtory of his own Times, with his Life annexed, was publiſhed by his ſon Thomas Burnet, eſq. agreeable to the intention of his father; for the biſhop, by his laſt will and teſtament, had ordered, that this Hiſtory ſhould not be printed till ſix years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, ſuppreſſing, or altering it in any particular.

The firſt volume was printed at London in 1724, and the ſecond in 1734, in folio. To the firſt volume is prefixed an advertiſement, acquainting the reader, That the editors intended, for the ſatisfaction of the public, to depoſit the copy, from which his hiſtory is printed (corrected, and interlined, in many places, with the author's own hand) in ſome public library, as ſoon as the ſecond volume ſhould be publiſhed.

The

The firſt part of his Hiſtory was written ſome time before the year 1705; but how long is uncertain; only it appears it was then finiſhed, becauſe, in the beginning of the reign of king William and queen Mary, the author dates the Continuation of it on the firſt of May, 1705.

What led him at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of public affairs, as he himſelf tells us, was the manner of his education; which being ſolely in the hands of his father, who had been engaged in great friendſhip with all parties, and took a pleaſure in relating to him the ſeries of public tranſactions, he had, while very young, a greater knowledge of theſe matters, than is uſual at that age. Beſides which, he himſelf fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, who either were or had been miniſters of ſtate; from whom, when the ſecret of affairs was over, he ſtudied to know as many particulars as he could from them. He ſaw likewiſe a great deal more among the papers of the duke of Hamilton than was properly a part of their Memoirs, or fit to be told at that time. Add to this, his intimacy, for above thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, and his own ſhare in many of them, which enabled him to penetrate far into the true ſecret of counſels and deſigns.

"This," our author goes on, "made me, twenty years ago, write down a relation of all that

that I had known to that time. Where I was in the dark, I paſſed over all, and only opened thoſe tranſactions that I had particular occaſion to know. My chief deſign in writing was, to give a true view of men and of counſels, leaving public tranſactions to Gazettes, and the public hiſtorians of the times. I writ with a deſign to make both myſelf and my readers wiſer and better, and to lay open the good and of all ſides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I myſelf underſtood it; concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and repreſenting things in their natural colours, without art or diſguiſe, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or intereſts; for I do ſolemnly ſay this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth upon all occaſions, as fully and freely, as, upon my beſt enquiry, I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful, I deliver them with the ſame incertainty to the world."

Our author then apologizes for the ſeverity with which he has treated thoſe of his own profeſſion, his dwelling ſo long on the affairs of Scotland, and his inclination to think generally the worſt, both of men and parties. Laſtly, at to the ſtyle of the Hiſtory, he tells us, he purpoſely avoided all laboured periods and artificial ſtrains; and, that he writ it in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chuſing rather a copious enlargement, than a

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dark conciſeneſs. He concludes the preface with a ſolemn dedication of his work to God.

There are two French tranſlations of the firſt volume of this Hiſtory; the one by M. de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous tranſlator. The firſt was printed at the Hague in three volumes 12mo. 1725; the other, with cuts, at the ſame place, in the ſame year, in two volumes 4to. This laſt verſion was reprinted at Trevoux in four volumes 12mo.

Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time has been ſeverely attacked by ſeveral writers; particularly, firſt, by John Cockburn, D. D. in a piece in 8vo, entitled, A Specimen of ſome Free and Impartial Remarks on Public Affairs and Particular Perſons, eſpecially relating to Scotland; occaſioned by Dr. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times A Vindication of our author againſt the writer was publiſhed in 1724; to which a reply was made under the title of A Defence of Dr. Cockburn, againſt the Vindication of Biſhop Burnet. A ſecond antagoniſt was an anonymous writer, in a piece entitled, A Review of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, particularly his Characters and ſecret Memoirs; with critical Remarks, ſhewing the Partiality, Inconſiſtency, and Defects of that political Hiſtory, 8vo. Thirdly, in 1725, appeared a book, entitled, Biſhop Burnet's late Hiſtory charged with great Partiality and Miſrepreſentation, to make the preſent

ſent and future ages believe, that Arthur, earl of Eſſex, in 1683, murdered himſelf, &c. By Mr. Braddon, 8vo. Fourthly, the ſame year, Mr. Bevil Higgons publiſhed, in 8vo, Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time. This author writes with a peculiar vehemence and ſharpneſs of ſtyle. He tells us, in his preface, "It is very evident that revenge has abſolutely guided him (the biſhop) through this Hiſtory, and ſo darkened his underſtanding, as ſometimes to make him fall into the groſſeſt abſurdities." The ſecond edition of this book, is of the year 1727, with Additional Remarks, and a Poſtſcript, in Anſwer to the London Journal of the thirtieth of January and the ſixth of February, 1725. Fifthly, the late lord Landſdowne attacked our author's Hiſtory, in a Letter to the Author (Mr. Oldmixon) of the Reflections, Hiſtorical and Political, &c. to which the biſhop's ſon, Thomas Burnet, eſq. replied, in ſome Remarks upon that Letter, London, 1732. 4to.

Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, concludes with a warm and affectionate addreſs, to all ranks and degrees of perſons; the clergy, the commonalty, the gentry, the traders, the nobility, the houſes of parliament, and our monarchs themſelves; cenſuring the faults and errors of their conduct, giving them ſuitable advice, and earneſtly exhorting them to the practice of virtue and religion.

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As to his domeſtic life, his time was employed in one regular and uniform manner. He was a very early riſer, ſeldom in bed later than five, or ſix, o'clock in the morning. Private meditation took up the two firſt hours, and the laſt four, of the day. His firſt and laſt appearance to his family, was at morning and evening prayers, which he always read himſelf though his chaplains were preſent. He took the opportunity of the tea-table to inſtruct his children in religion, and in giving them his own comment upon ſome portion of ſcripture. He ſeldom ſpent leſs than ſix, often eight, hours a day in his ſtudy. He kept an open table, in which there was a plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain, and all his expences generous, but not profuſe. He was a moſt affectionate huſband to his wives; and his love to his children expreſſed itſelf, not ſo much in hoarding up wealth for them, as in giving them the beſt education.

After his ſons had perfected themſelves in the learned languages, under private tutors, he ſent them to the univerſity, and afterwards abroad, to finiſh their ſtudies at Leyden.

In his friendſhips, he was warm, open-hearted, and conſtant; and, though his ſtation raiſed him many enemies, he always endeavoured, by the kindeſt good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them by returning good for evil. He was a kind and bountiful maſter to his ſervants, and obliging

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to all in employment under him. His charities were a principal article of his expence. He gave an hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of ſmall livings: he beſtowed conſtant penſions on poor clergymen and their widows, on ſtudents for their education at the univerſities, and on induſtrious but unfortunate families: he contributed frequent ſums towards the repairs or building of churches and parſonage-houſes, to all public collections, to the ſupport of charity ſchools (one of which for fifty children at Saliſbury was wholly maintained by him) and to the putting out apprentices to trades. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, ſect, or party; but want and merit in the object, were the only meaſures of his liberality. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his epiſcopal revenue, as a meer truſtee for the church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintainance of his ſtation, and in acts of hoſpitality and in charity; and he had ſo faithfully ballanced this account, that, at his death, no more of the income of his biſhopric remained to his family than was barely ſufficient to pay his debts.

Lord Halifax, ſpeaking of the biſhop, ſays, "Dr, Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean; he muſt either be railed at, or admired. He has a ſwiftneſs of imagination that no other comes up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having

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ing too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run away with him: as it is hard for a veſſel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter that he ever carries about him, may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His friends love him too well to ſee ſmall faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe: he may, in ſome things, require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicker in diſcerning other mens fault, than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad to ackdowledge his own, that from blemiſhes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries, hath had no other effect, than the ſeting his good in ſo much a better light, ſince his anger never yet went farther to pity them. That heat which, in moſt other men, raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in

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want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one blot he makes; and, being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the errors which ariſe out of his abundance; and, by a miſtake into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy to him, that his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſowered by it: the ſoil is not forced; every thing grows and brings forth without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, as a good palate will diſcern between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly pains that have been beſtowed upon it. He makes many enemies by ſetting an ill-natured example of living which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment; his contempt, not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary plenty; his degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful duties of his calling; are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never ſo orthodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of thoſe divines, who have ſoftened the primitive injunctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the frailty of mankind. No wonder

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then if they are angry, ſince it is in their own defence; or that, from a principle of ſelf-preſervation, they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a ſcandal, to them."

The copy from which this is printed, in the Biſhop's Life, was taken from one given to the biſhop, in the marquis of Halifax's own hand-writing.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE GRANVILLE.

GEORGE GRANVILLE, created, by queen Anne, baron Lanſdowne, of Biddeford, in the county of Devon, was an eloquent ſpeaker, an elegant writer, an admirable poet, and, in a word, one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen this nation hath produced.

It is a misfortune that a perſon ſo able has not left us any memoirs of his own, who, with ſo much candour and ſpirit has reſcued from calumny the characters of other great men. The materials for this article are, for this reaſon, in proportion to the worth of it, very ſcanty; and all that we are able to do, towards rendering juſtice to his memory, and gratifying, in ſome meaſure, the expectation of the reader, is to range them in the beſt manner we are able; and to borrow from his own excellent writings all the lights we can.

He was the ſon of the honourable Mr. Bernard Greenvile, or Granville, who, in regard to the merit of his illuſtrious father Sir Bevil, had, by a ſpecial warrant from king Charles the ſecond, the rank given him of an earl's younger ſon; and who added to the luſtre of

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of his antient and noble family freſh ſplendour by his perſonal merit.

His ſon George, whoſe Life we are now writing, was born about the year 1667, and is ſaid to have received a great part of his education in his infancy under the eye of Sir William Ellis, who was himſelf a man of letters and of very quick parts.

Mr. Granville quickly diſcovered the genius of his family; and being with his elder brother entered of Trinity-college, in Cambridge, at a time when others have made very little progreſs in a grammar-ſchool, he was, before he reached the age of twelve, diſtinguiſhed, by addreſſing a very fine copy of verſes, of his own compoſition, to her royal highneſs Maria Beatrix d'Eſte, ducheſs of York, who, in 1679, viſited this univerſity. He took his degree there of maſter of arts at thirteen, and left Cambridge ſoon after.

On the acceſſion of king James II. he addreſſed three poems to that monarch in the firſt year of his reign, and in the eighteenth of his own age; all of them very finely written, particularly the laſt, which was looked upon as incomparable. Panegyric, in proſe and in verſe, was in faſhion in thoſe days; Lewis the Fourteenth had introduced and rewarded it in France; and from thence, with the other modes of that court, it ſpread over all Europe, and very early into England, where Waller, Dryden, and Otway, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this way; and therefore it was the more ex-

cuſeable for ſo young an author as Mr. Granville, prompted alike by inclination and ambition to tread in the ſame path. His obedient genius enabled him to gratify his paſſion, and to reach, even in his firſt heat, thoſe who were ſo much practiſed to the race. He was from this time conſidered as a maſter of numbers; and we may truly ſay of him, what can ſcarce be ſaid of any other, that before he was a man he was a poet.

There was, and there ſtill is, a degree of complaiſance that waits on the productions of young men of faſhion: but Mr. Granville did not avail himſelf of this, his very firſt poems were among the number of his beſt; and he did not ſtand indebted for his reputation, to favour, faction, or common fame; but had it conferred upon him by the firſt and faireſt judges of the times, than whom perhaps few ages have produced better.

If teſtimony were of any weight, in proving an author to be a genius, we ſhould find no great difficulty to ſucceed in this particular; for, if the names of the immortal Dryden, who was his friend; the celebrated Joſeph Addiſon, eſq. who was his intimate acquaintance; the famous Henry St. John, afterwards lord-viſcount Bolingbroke, who lived with him in the greateſt intimacy; and the ingenious Mr. Bevil Higgons, who was his relation, would ſuffice, it is ſecure; more eſpecially as they have all given it under their hands, and ſtaked their own credit with poſterity in ſupport of his.

his. But, where a man's writings are extant, it is to them we ought to appeal; and this will juſtify our producing his third poem to king James, Mr. Waller's Compliment to him, and his own Reply.

They are all very ſhort, and full to the point; but perhaps it may not be amiſs to remark, that our author wrote in the dawn of that monarch's reign, and before it was overcaſt by any of thoſe offenſive acts in favour of popery, which gave occaſion to its being tranſmitted in ſo very different a light to ſucceeding times.

To the KING.

Heroes of old, by rapine and by ſpoil,
In ſearch of fame did all the world embroil;
Thus to their god's each then ally'd his name,
This ſprung from Jove, and that from Titan came:
With equal valour, and the ſame ſucceſs,
Dread king, might'ſt thou the univerſe oppreſs:
But Chriſtian laws conſtrain thy martial pride,
Peace is thy choice, and piety thy guide;
By thy example kings are taught to ſway,
Heroes to fight, and ſaints may learn to pray.

From Gods deſcended, and of race divine,
Neſtor in council and Ulyſſes ſhine;
But in a day of battle all would yield
To the fierce maſter of the ſeven-fold ſhield;

Their very deities were grac'd no more,
Mars had the courage, Jove the thunder bore.
But all perfections meet in James alone,
And Britain's king is all the gods in one.

To the Author, on his foregoing VERSES to the KING.

By Mr. EDMUND WALLER.

An early plant, which ſuch a bloſſom bears,
And ſhows a genius, ſo beyond his years,
A judgment that could make ſo fair a choice,
So high a ſubject to employ his voice;
Still as it grows, how ſweetly will he ſing
The growing greatneſs of our matchleſs king.

ANSWER. To Mr. WALLER.

When into Lybia the young Grecian came,
To talk with Hammon, and conſult for fame,
When from the ſacred tripod where he ſtood,
The prieſt inſpir'd ſaluted him a god;
Scarce ſuch a joy that haughty victor knew,
Thus own'd by Heaven, as I, thus prais'd by you.

Whoe'er their names can in thy numbers ſhow,
Have more than empire, and immortal grow;

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Ages to come ſhall ſcorn the powers of old,
When in thy verſe of greater gods they're told;
Our beauteous queen, and royal James's name,
For Jove and Juno ſhall be plac'd by Fame;
Thy Charles for Neptune, ſhall the ſeas command,
And Sacariſſa ſhall for Venus ſtand:
Greece ſhall no longer boaſt, nor haughty Rome,
But think from Britain all the gods did come.

We cannot, however, conclude theſe remarks without confirming what has been ſaid by the authority of a profeſſed critic, who thought like a ſcholar and wrote like a gentleman. His work was addreſſed to the marquis of Granby, in 1709.

"Waller," ſays he, "for the muſic of his numbers, the courtlineſs of his verſe, and the eaſineſs and happineſs of his thoughts on a thouſand ſubjects, deſerves your lordſhip's conſideration more, perhaps, than any other; becauſe his manner and his ſubjects are more common to perſons of quality, and the affairs of a court. Mr. Granville, my lord, hath rivalled him in his fineſt addreſs, and is as happy as he ever was in raiſing modern compliments upon ancient ſtory, and ſetting off the Britiſh valour, and the Engliſh beauty, with the old gods and goddeſſes."

In the preface to a ſubſequent edition, he ſays, on the ſame ſubject, "If I had ſeen my lord Lanſdowne's poems in one view, I might

have formed a juſter idea of the greatneſs of his genius, and the delicacy of his wit; for, when I wrote theſe ſheets, they lay diſperſed up and down in the Miſcellanies; but ſome kind hand hath aſſembled the ſcattered ſtars, and added another lyre to the conſtellation."

The great eſteem in which he ſtood at this court, and the many perſonal marks of favour he received from their majeſties, added to the turn of his education, and the natural generoſity of his temper, made Mr. Granville paſſionately loyal in that ſeaſon of his life when few, and he the leaſt of any, had learned to diſſemble.

At the time of the duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he was with great difficulty reſtrained from taking arms; and at the revolution he had a return of the ſame political fever; which, without doubt, the reader will be pleaſed to ſee.

This ſingular and zealous letter has been often printed, but perhaps the following quotation from the impartial memoirs of a very worthy gentleman, wrote in the country, and at the very time, preciſely, when this letter was written, will render it better underſtood.

"At this time," ſays he, "lord Thomas Howard was lieutenant of the weſt-riding, a rigid papiſt, and now gone ambaſſador to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, two of which alſo were papiſts, and but two of the three were now in the country, while moſt of the gentry of York-

ſhire

ſhire were come to the city, expecting to meet with writs for the choice of members.

"I therefore preſſed the high-ſheriff to give notice to ſome gentlemen, while I convened others for the next day, when Sir Henry Gooderick began a diſcourſe, which I ſeconded, to ſhew how little we were able to ſerve the king with the militia, without another lord lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully ſerve, meaning a proteſtant; and at the ſame time we ſubſcribed a repreſentation of our caſe to his majeſty. I was well aware how very ungrateful this would be to him; but, to obviate his diſpleaſure, I gave him private intelligence of the intention to prepare it, and begged of him to excuſe the concern I had therein, aſſuring him it was now abſolutely for his ſervice.

"In the midſt of this, down comes a ſpecial meſſenger to purge the corporation, to put out the former lord-mayor and aldermen, and to appoint others, almoſt all papiſts; but the commiſſion was ſo defective, and there were ſuch miſtakes in the execution of it, as fruſtrated the deſign.

"The next day I prevailed with the lord-mayor to call a hall; upon which occaſion, I ſpoke to them a full half hour, and ſo convinced them of the evil arts which had been put in practice againſt me, and the great injuſtice done me, that they all ſeemed to be converts in my favour: and, to add to what

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I ſaid, I gave them up the keys, but made them own it as a courteſy, and promiſe to reſtore them to me again, whenever I deſired it. And now lord Fairfax, a Roman catholic, and lord lieutenant of the north-riding, being at York, obſerved to me, it could be for no good end that the lords Devonſhire and Danby were come down to the country, though the former pretended he was only come to view his eſtate, and the latter to drink the waters at Knareſborough.

" They were both of them frequently engaged in converſation at Sir Henry Goodericke's; and the firſt of them came to York, where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and received the ſame from him: the other I waited on at Sir Henry's, not ſuſpecting that men of their high quality and great eſtate, could intend any thing prejudicial to the government, or dangerous to themſelves; and indeed their outward behaviour was very decent and innocent.

Two days afterwards I had an expreſs from lord Preſton, the new ſecretary of ſtate, Sunderland, who was turned papiſt, and had been the author of great miſchief ſince he had been near the king, being laid aſide, to acquaint me, that his majeſty had given a very kind reception to our repreſentation on the part of the country; and, that, in compliance therewith, he had named the duke of Newcaſtle to be lord-lieutenant of all Yorkſhire; and his grace

grace coming to town ſoon after, appointed his deputies and militia officers, both horſe and foot.

" The king began now, though fatally too late, to be ſenſible of his error, in carrying matters to ſo enormous a length, at the inſtigation of popiſh counſels, and now reſtored ſeveral juſtices of the peace in moſt counties, as alſo the old charters all England over. He now quits his hold of the biſhop of London, does juſtice to Magdalen college, and begins again to court the church of England."

We may now proceed to the letter, which, from the peruſal of this paſſage, may be underſtood in the moſt minute particulars; and, perhaps, taken together, they will afford the juſteſt picture of the ſtate of the north of England at that great criſis; a thing not to be met with in any of our hiſtories, and yet very capable of inſtructing us in points of very great importance, and in particular ſhewing us how that great turn came to be ſo eaſily made; for king James had really ſubverted his own government, before he was attacked from abroad, and, by a ſtrange mutability of counſels, diſabled his friends from acting when he was attacked.

Theſe are the moſt curious, and moſt intereſting parts of hiſtory; and yet, not to be written with any tolerable degree of certainty, but from ſuch memoirs, and ſuch letters, as theſe, where affection filled the heart, and truth guided the pen.

Mar, near Doncaſter, Oct. 6, 1688.

To the Honourable Mr. BERNARD GRANVILLE, at the Earl of Bathe's, St. James's.

SIR,

"Your having no proſpect of obtaining a commiſſion for me, can no way alter or cool my deſire at this important juncture, to venture my life in ſome manner or other, for my king and country.

"I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying obſcure and idle in a country retirement, when every man, who has the leaſt ſenſe of honour, ſhould be preparing for the field.

"You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I ſubmitted to your commands upon Monmouth's rebellion, when no importunity could prevail with you to permit me to leave the academy: I was too young to be hazarded; but, give me leave to ſay, it is glorious, at any age, to die for one's country; and, the ſooner the more noble the ſacrifice.

"I am now older by three years. My uncle Bathe was not ſo old, when he was left among the ſlain at the battle of Newberry; nor you yourſelf, Sir, when you made your eſcape from your tutors, to join your brother at the defence of Scilly.

"The

"The ſame cauſe is now come round about again; the king has been miſled: let thoſe who have miſled him, be anſwerable for it; no body can deny but he is ſacred in his own perſon, and it is every honeſt man's duty to defend it.

"You are pleaſed to ſay, it is yet doubtful if the Hollanders are raſh enough to make ſuch an attempt; but, be that as it will, I beg leave to inſiſt upon it, that I may be preſented to his majeſty, as one whoſe utmoſt ambition it is to devote his life to his ſervice, and my country's, after the example of all my anceſtors.

"The gentry aſſembled at York, to agree upon the choice of repreſentatives for the county, have prepared an addreſs, to aſſure his majeſty, they are ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for him, upon this and all other occaſions; but, at the ſame time, they humbly beſeech him, to give them ſuch magiſtrates, as may be agreeable to the laws of the land, for at preſent there is no authority to which they can legally ſubmit.

"They have been beating for volunteers at York, and the towns adjacent, to ſupply the regiments at Hull, but no body will liſt.

"By what I can learn, every body wiſhes well to the king, but they would be glad his miniſters were hanged.

"The winds continue ſo contrary, that no landing can be ſo ſoon as was apprehended; there-

therefore I may hope, with your leave and aſſiſtance, to be in readineſs before any action can begin. I beſeech you, Sir, moſt humbly, and moſt earneſtly, to add this one act of indulgence more, to ſo many other teſtimonies which I have conſtantly received of your goodneſs: and be pleaſed to believe me always, with the utmoſt duty and ſubmiſſion,

"Sir,

"Your moſt dutiful ſon,

"and moſt obedient ſervant,

"GEO. GRANVILLE."

After things were ſettled, Mr. Granville purſued his ſtudies, and gratified his taſte for poetry in the enjoyments of private life.

He was the younger ſon of a younger brother, and of courſe much reſtrained in point of fortune; and, as matters were then ſituated with his family, had no reaſon to expect any favours from the adminiſtration. However, the hereditary prudence of his family, though it ſupplied not all deficiences, yet covered all defects from public appearance; and his exact behaviour, and correct œconomy, prevented the world from diſcerning, that Providence, though indulgent in all other reſpects, had, to render

render that indulgence more beneficial, denied him riches ſuitable to the rank in which his birth had placed him. This was the more remarkable, becauſe, when he afterwards enjoyed a more affluent income, that commendable œconomy was no more diſcerned, which had been the ornament of his youth; whereas, in moſt men, it is either an infirmity attending old age, or, at leaſt, a habit produced by experience.

Being thus excluded from that circle of pleaſures in which young men are generally immerſed, and, at the ſame time debarred thoſe paſſages to fame, in which the martial diſpoſition of his family would have inclined him to tread,, he ſtruck out amuſements of another kind, and, though by a different road, reached the temple of Honour ſooner than moſt of his contemporaries.

His dramatic pieces were of very different kinds, and written in very different manners; but they were all well received, and owed that reception to their intrinſic merit, as much as to the general eſteem and reſpect that all the polite world profeſſed for their author. They are, to ſay the truth, pieces that have often paſſed the preſs, without any diminution of that praiſe which they received upon the ſtage.

We have three plays of his, of which it is neceſſary to ſpeak ſeparately, and very diſtinctly, becauſe there are ſeveral circumſtances that are fit to be known in relation to them, which yet are not mentioned in his works.

1. The

1. The She Gallants, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal in Little-Lincoln's inn-fields, 1696.

In the advertiſement originally prefixed to this play, it is ſaid to be the Child of a Child; and it is urged, in the way of apology for it, That it was written at an age when ſome perſons were but beginning to ſpell.

At firſt it met with applauſe; but a rumour being induſtriouſly propagated, that it was calculated to turn ſome great characters into ridicule, a formidable party was raiſed againſt it: notwithſtanding which, it was ſeveral times played with ſucceſs.

The author always aſſerted, that the alluſions before mentioned were downright aſperſions; and, indeed, ſuppoſing the play to be wrote in 1682, or 1683, or even two or three years later, the author muſt have been a prophet, as well as a poet, to have aimed his ſatyr as it was ſuppoſed to have been directed. Beſides, its original intention was private amuſement, and it was an unforeſeen accident which brought it upon the ſtage; ſo that, in this, as it often happens, the piece was guiltleſs; it was the inuendo that made the libel; and the apprehenſions of falſe friends, which brought certain characters upon the carpet, for which the the play and its author ſuffered, though, in reality, neither was to blame. Many years after, he corrected it, and gave it a new title, and then it was called, Once a Lover, and always a Lover, a Comedy.

In

In the preface, he obſerves, This is a new building upon an old foundation; and, that, taking it under examination, ſo many years after it was written, he flatters himſelf to have made a correct comedy of it. To juſtify this pains, he ſays, that he found it regular, the ſcene conſtant to one place, the time not exceeding the bounds preſcribed, and the action entire.

He proceeds to point out the principal alterations that have been made, and concludes with the following remark. "Whether this infant deſerved a new coat, or whether, now he is provided with one, it may ſet him off better, is, with all deference, ſubmitted. An author flatters himſelf very ridiculouſly, if he can ſuppoſe it in his power to argue and reaſon the world into judging as he himſelf perhaps may do of his own work."

In praiſe of this performance, we find it ſaid, That it has a great deal more wit than the ſtage is generally uſed to; dialogue equalled by few; and more juſt ſatirical obſervations than moſt of our modern comedies.

Theſe, together with the commendations before given by the author, may be all true; but at the ſame time, it is as true, there is ſcarce a ſingle ſcene, in which there are not expreſſions found, unworthy of him, and of the Britiſh ſtage; and for which all the wit, humour, and vivacity, with which they are mingled, can never atone. Whatever is immodeſt is inexcuſeable: we can never preſume, that he has

correction

correction in his view, by whoſe writings the corruption of his audience is in any danger of being brought about; and, if the true end of the ſtage be, to expoſe and ridicule vice, it looks like defeating it, to introduce language and characters of the worſt ſort, in ſuch a manner as to make the moſt pleaſing impreſſions.

2. Heroic Love, a Tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal with great applauſe, 1696.

This was very juſtly eſteemed a capital performance, and, as Mr. Gildon very truly ſays, it was an attempt to reſtore the antient manner of writing tragedy at the expence of the modern. In it, Mr. Granville obſerved the ſtricteſt rules of the antient drama: the action is ſingle, the ſcene is never varied, and the time is the ſame with the repreſentation. All extravagance, all unneceſſary incidents, are cut off; nothing can be more correct, or more free from what is called fuſtian, than the diction of this piece. It is founded upon the Iliad, and wrote according to the laws of Ariſtotle: it has been very juſtly commended, and moſt certainly ſhews an accurate judgment very capable of curbing even the moſt exalted genius. It is, however, to ſpeak the truth, as is our duty, rather free from faults, than abounding with beauties; and entertains one, at leaſt, as much in the cloſet, as it could do on the theatre. But, notwithſtanding this, we muſt allow it great merit, as it ſhewed what might be done, without having recourſe to improbabilities or rant. It is in this light that

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it muſt be conſidered, in order to juſtify the high praiſes given the author; and, when conſidered in this light, it will effectually juſtify him; wrote as it is, with dignity and ſpirit, great beauty of ſentiment, and without any of thoſe improprieties which have been objected to the Engliſh tragedy; no diſtortion of hiſtory, no incredible fictions, no ſhedding of blood upon the ſtage; but all that decorum preſerved, which the ſtrict rules of criticiſm demand.

It was introduced with all poſſible advantages; the prologue was written by the right honourable Henry St. John, eſq. the epilogue by Mr. Bevil Higgons; and both are very fine pieces: but what did him the greateſt honour, were the numerous compliments beſtowed upon his play after it appeared in print; and, as great politicians ſometimes unite the moſt oppoſite intereſts, ſo our author drew the praiſes of parties, ſeldom heard in commendation of the ſame thing, the ladies and the critics. But what muſt have given him the higheſt pleaſure, as it was the ſureſt proof of his ſucceſs, was the following incomparable poem of Mr. John Dryden, which alone is ſufficient to fix his character with poſterity, and to ſecure his reputation as a poet againſt all the attacks of ignorance or envy: a poem that does equal honour to him and to the author, and abounds with ſound ſenſe and concluſive argument, delivered with all the force of poetry, accompanied with all the harmony of numbers, and glowing

with

with that diſintereſted friendſhip which great minds only feel, and which a great genius only could expreſs.

To Mr. GRANVILLE.

On his excellent Tragedy called Heroic Love.

Auſpicious poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy what I muſt commend?
But ſince 'tis Nature's law, in love and wit,
That youth ſhould reign, and with'ring age ſubmit,
With leſs regret thoſe laurels I reſign,
Which dying on my brows, revive on thine.
With better grace an antient chief may yield
The long-contended honours of the field,
Than venture all his fortune at a caſt,
And fight, like Hannibal, to loſe at laſt.
Young princes, obſtinate to win the prize,
Tho' yearly beaten, yearly yet they riſe:
Old monarchs, tho' ſucceſsful, ſtill in doubt,
Catch at a peace; and wiſely turn devout.
Thine be the laurel then; thy blooming age
Can beſt, if any can, ſupport the ſtage;
Which ſo declines, that ſhortly we may ſee
Players and plays reduc'd to ſecond infancy.
Sharp to the world, but thoughtleſs of renown,
They plot not on the ſtage, but on the town,

And,

And, in deſpair, their empty pit to fill,
Set up ſome foreign monſter in a bill:
Thus they jog on; ſtill tricking, never thriving;
And murd'ring plays, which they miſcall reviving.
Our ſenſe is nonſenſe, thro' their pipes convey'd;
Scarce can a poet know the play he made;
'Tis ſo diſguis'd in death: nor thinks 'tis he
That ſuffers in the mangled tragedy.
Thus Itys firſt was kill'd, and after dreſt
For his own ſire, the chief invited gueſt.

I ſay not this of thy ſucceſsful ſcenes;
Where thine was all the glory, theirs the gains:
With length of time, much judgment, and more toil,
Not ill they acted what they could not ſpoil;
Their ſetting-ſun* ſtill ſhoots a glimm'ring ray,
Like antient Rome, majeſtic in decay:
And better gleaning their worn ſoil can boaſt,
Than the crab vintage of the neighb'ring coaſt†,
This diff'rence yet the judging world will ſee,
Thou copieſt Homer, and they copy thee.

* Mr. Betterton's company in Lincoln's-inn-fields.

† Drury-lane play-houſe.

3. The Jew of Venice, altered from the Merchant of Venice, written by Shakeſpear, 1701.

The profits of this play were deſigned for Mr. Dryden, but, upon his death, given to his ſon. The prologue was ſpoken by the ghoſts of Shakeſpear and Dryden, and was written by Mr. Bevil Higgons. It was well received then, and much eſteemed ſince. The chief merit of it is, that much of the original author is retained, and the alterations chiefly conſiſt in ſhortening the ſcenes, and diſpatching the buſineſs of the play with more veracity.

To comply with the humour of the times the Maſque of Peleus and Thetis was introduced, of which ſomething will be ſaid hereafter.

If the Jew of Venice be more fit for the ſtage, the Merchant of Venice will be moſt eſteemed in the cloſet. The ſcene is Italy, and we ſee the grave and the comic manners of the Italians finely preſerved. The ſentiments are truly noble and nervouſly expreſſed; the morality is equally ſtriking and pleaſing; the characters ſtrongly marked, and yet extremely natural; the whole piece abounding with ſenſible reflections, and thoſe very capable of being applied in the common conduct of life. On the whole, we may affirm of this play, that ſuch as underſtand it beſt will admire it moſt; and, that, though it may be rendered more faſhionable, yet it can never be ſo altered

as

as to be improved. This was our author's ſenſe of the thing, as well as ours, and therefore it is not cenſure, but compliment, when we ſubmit to it.

He was as true a judge of the powers of muſic as the harmony of numbers; and amongſt the ſmall number of poets acquainted with the happy ſecret of combining both without injury to either. What he has written in proſe would have done him honour upon the ſubject as a critic; but what he has done in verſe, does him ſtill more honour, as it ſhewed he was able to execute, with ſpirit and vivacity, what his judgment taught him with the utmoſt correctneſs. Theſe ſound, in reſpect to the compoſitions, was truly a comment upon the ſenſe; and one might have expected that what he wrote in this ſtyle ſhould have carried the opera higher in Britain than even in Italy; but perhaps it has had a contrary effect. His theory has been always acknowledged perſpicuous, noble, and juſt; but, like other great maſters, his practice, upon trial, has been found inimitable.

We have before hinted the difficulty of ſetling the chronology of our author's writings. He compoſed moſt of his poetical pieces when he was a perfect child; he reviewed, heightened, and improved them, in the middle part of his life; he reviſed, corrected, and gave them the laſt touches, when his judgment was moſt mature. His poetic compoſitions of this kind are but two.

1. Peleus

1. Peleus and Thetis, a Maſque, originally introduced in the Jew of Venice.

The whole of this exquiſite performance is ſet to muſic. The argument is, That Peleus, being in love with Thetis, by the aſſiſtance of Proteus, obtains her favour; but Jupiter being alſo in love with the ſame immortal beauty, takes her from him, and condemns Peleus to ſuffer endleſs pains on mount Caucaſus. There he has an opportunity of conſulting Prometheus, ſkilled in aſtrology; upon whoſe prophecy, that the ſon born of Thetis ſhould prove greater than his father, Jupiter deſiſts from his pretenſions, and Peleus, with his conſent, eſpouſes Thetis. The reader will allow us to juſtify what has already been advanced, by a ſhort quotation towards the end of the maſque.

Prometheus to Jupiter.

Son of Saturn, take advice,
From one whom thy ſevere decree
Has furniſh'd leiſure to grow wiſe:
Thou rul'ſt the gods, but Fate rules thee.

The Prophecy.

Whoe'er the immortal maid compreſſing,
Shall taſte joy, and reap the bleſſing;
Thus th' unerring ſtars adviſe:
From that auſpicious night, an heir ſhall riſe
Paternal glories to efface,
The moſt illuſtrious of his race,
Tho' ſprang from him who rules the ſkies.

Jupiter.

Jupiter. [Apart.]

Shall then the ſon of Saturn be undone,
Like Saturn, by an impious ſon?
Juſtly th' impartial fates conſpire,
Dooming that ſon to be the ſire,
Of ſuch another ſon.
Conſcious of ills that I have done,
My fears to prudence ſhall adviſe,
And guilt, that made me great, ſhall make me wiſe.

The fatal bleſſing I reſign,
Peleus take the maid divine *,
Jove conſenting, ſhe is thine;
The fatal bleſſing I reſign ‡.

2. The Britiſh Enchanters; or, No Magic like Love: a Dramatic Poem, with ſcenes, machines, muſic, and decorations, &c.

Our author, in a ſhort preface prefixed to this work, tells us, that, "of all public ſpectacles, that which ſhould be called an opera, is calculated to give the higheſt delight: there is hardly any art but what is required to furniſh towards the entertainment; and there is ſomething or other to be provided, that may touch every ſenſe and pleaſe every palate."

* Giving her to Peleus.
‡ Joins their hands.

He obſerves, that the French opera is perfect in the decorations, the dancing, and magnificence; the Italian excels in the muſic and voices, but the drama falls ſhort in both. An Engliſh ſtomach, he ſays, requires ſomething ſolid and ſubſtantial, and will never riſe ſatisfied from a regale of ſweetmeats. We have, ſays he, ſeveral poems under the name of Dramatic Operas, by the beſt hands; but the ſubjects, for the moſt part, have been improperly choſen: Mr. Addiſon's Roſamond, and Mr. Congreve's Semele, are rather maſques than operas.

At the cloſe of his preface, he gives the following account of his own performance, which may alſo be ſtiled the hiſtory of it.

"The unities are religiouſly obſerved; the place is the ſame, varied only into different proſpects, by the power of enchantment; all the incidents fall within the time of repreſentation: the plot is one principal action, and of that kind which introduces variety of turns and changes, all tending to the ſame point; the ornaments and decorations are of a piece with it, ſo that one could not well ſubſiſt without the other: every act concludes with ſome unexpected revolution; and, in the end, vice is puniſhed, virtue rewarded, and the moral is inſtructive. Rhyme, which I would by no means admit into the dialogue of graver tragedy, ſeems to me the moſt proper ſtyle for repreſen-

repreſentations of this heroic romantic kind, and beſt adapted to accompany muſic. The ſolemn language of a haughty tyrant will, by no means, become a paſſionate lover; and tender ſentiments require the ſofteſt colouring: the theme muſt govern the ſtyle, every thought, every character, every ſubject, of a different nature, muſt ſpeak a different language. An humble lover's gentle addreſs to his miſtreſs, would rumble ſtrangely in the Miltonic dialect; and the ſoft harmony of Mr. Waller's numbers, would ill become the mouths of Lucifer and Belzebub. The terrible and the tender, muſt be ſet to different notes of muſic. To conclude; this dramatic attempt, was the firſt eſſay of a very infant muſe, rather as a taſk at ſuch hours as were free from any other exerciſes, than any way meant for public entertainment: but Mr. Betterton having had a caſual ſight of it many years after it was written, begged it for the ſtage, where it found ſo favourable a reception, as to have an uninterrupted run of at leaſt forty days. The ſeparation of the principal actors, which ſoon followed, and the introduction of the Italian opera, put a ſtop to its farther appearance. Had it been compoſed at a riper time of life, the faults might have been fewer: however, upon reviſing it now, at ſo great a diſtance of time, with a cooler judgment than the firſt conceptions of youth will allow, I cannot abſolutely ſay, ſcripſiſſe pudet."

It remains that we give a ſpecimen of his power in reſpect to numbers, which is the prerogative of our language, of the moſt extenſive influence, and which, notwithſtanding, is the leaſt underſtood. For this reaſon, therefore, we will produce ſuch an inſtance; and if, for the ſhort time he is reading it, the reader will forget Mr. Dryden's Ode upon St. Cecilia's day, he will not be able to recollect a finer piece of lyric poetry in the Britiſh tongue.

Ode to Discord.

When Love's away, then Diſcord reigns,
The furies he unchains,
Bids Æolus unbind
The northern wind
That fetter'd lays in caves;
And root up trees, and plow the plains;
Old Ocean frets and raves:
From their deep roots the rocks he tears,
Whole deluges lets fly,
That daſh againſt the ſky,
And ſeem to drown the ſtars.
Th' aſſaulted clouds return the ſhock,
Blue light'nings ſinge the waves,
And thunder rends the rock.

Then Jove uſurps his father's crown,
Inſtructing mortals to aſpire;
The father would deſtroy the ſon,
The ſon dethrones the ſire;

The

The Titans, to regain their right,
Prepare to try a ſecond fight;
Briareus arms his hundred hands,
And marches forth the bold gigantic bands.

Pelion, upon Oſſa thrown,
Steep Olympius they invade;
Gods and giants tumble down,
And Mars is foil'd by Encelade.

Horror, confuſion, dreadful ire,
Daggers, poiſon, ſword, and fire,
To execute the deſtin'd wrath conſpire:
The furies looſe their ſnaky rods,
And laſh both men and gods.

The chorus repeat the laſt ſtanza.

He was not one of thoſe fine eaſy writers that compoſe a poem in a morning, but remarkably careful and curious about every thing he wrote; ſo that his verſes never appeared till they had undergone a ſevere examination; and, even after they had received the ſanction of public applauſe, they were not ſafe from his caſtigation; he thought he had a right to trim and prune the products of his imagination as long and as often as he thought fit, and it is certain that he exerciſed this right thro' his whole life. Like Ovid and Tibullus, his muſe was employed in tranſmitting the charms

of beauty, as far as they can be tranſmitted by thoſe of poetry, to ſucceeding times. He began where Waller ended; and, as he had conferred immortality on lady Dorothea Sidney, under the name of Sachariſſa, ſo the counteſs of Newbourg, who was Granville's Mira, will live as long as the Engliſh language: but, as much as he excelled in the amorous, he excelled alſo in other kinds of poetry; and had the genius and learning, as well as the ſpirit and turn, of Ovid, as appears clearly from one of the moſt beautiful pieces of poetical criticiſm that is any where extant.

This performance is his eſſay on the unnatural flights in poetry. The earl of Mulgrave, afterwards ſucceſſively diſtinguiſhed by the titles of Normandy and Buckinghamſhire, had wrote an admirable piece, entitled, An Eſſay on Poetry; the earl of Roſcommon had likewiſe written with the ſame title upon tranſlated verſe.

Our author, to compleat the ſubject, wrote this third eſſay, to ſhew, that, notwithſtanding all the notions of poetic liberty, whatever is abſurd, extravagant, or unnatural, can never be either ſublime or beautiful. He wrote likewiſe annotations to explain, to eſtabliſh, and to confirm his rules, by examples. The following inſtances will give the reader an idea of his poem.

Thus

Thus poetry has ample ſpace to ſoar,
Nor needs forbidden regions to explore;
Such vaunts as his who can with patience read,
Who thus deſcribes his heroes ſlain and dead.

" * Kill'd as he was, inſenſible of death,
" He ſtill fights on, and ſcorns to yield his
" breath."

The noiſy culverin, o'ercharged, lets fly,
And burſt unaiming in the rended ſky:
Such frantic flights are like a madman's dream,
And Nature ſuffers in the wide extreme.

The captive canibal, weigh'd down with chains,
Yet braves his foes, reviles, provokes, diſdains;
Of nature fierce, untameable, and proud,
He grins defiance at the gaping crowd;
And ſpent at laſt, and ſpeechleſs as he lies,
With looks ſtill threat'ning, mocks their rage and dies:
This is the utmoſt ſtretch that nature can,
And all beyond is fulſom, falſe, and vain.

I needed not to have travelled ſo far for an extravagant flight, I remember one of Britiſh growth of the like nature,

* Arioſto.

See thoſe dead bodies hence convey'd with care,
Life may perhaps return——with change of air.

But I choſe rather to correct gently by foreign examples, hoping that ſuch as are conſcious of the like exceſſes, will take the hint, and ſecretly reprove themſelves: it may be poſſible for ſome tempers to maintain rage and indignation to the laſt gaſp, but the ſoul and body once parted, there muſt neceſſarily be a determination of action.

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic incredulus odi.

I cannot forbear quoting on this occaſion, as an example for the preſent purpoſe, two noble lines of Jaſper Main's, in the Collection of the Oxford Verſes, printed in the year 1643, upon the death of my grandfather, Sir Bevil Granville, ſlain in the heat of action, at the battle of Lanſdowne. The poet, after having deſcribed the fight, the ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, and enraged at his death, thus concludes:

Thus he being ſlain, his action fought anew,
And the dead conquer'd, whilſt the living flew.

This is agreeable to truth, and within the compaſs of nature. it is thus only that the dead can act.

Beauty's

Beauty's the theme: ſome nymph divinely fair
Excites the muſe; let truth be even there.
As painters flatter, ſo may poets too,
But to reſemblance muſt be ever true.

" * The day that ſhe was born, the Cyprian
" queen
" Had like t'have dy'd thro' envy and thro'
" ſpleen:
" The graces in a hurry left the ſkies,
" To have the honour to attend her eyes;
" And Love, deſpairing in her heart a place,
" Would needs take up a lodging in her
" face."

Tho' wrote by great Corneille, ſuch lines as theſe,
Such civil nonſenſe ſure could never pleaſe;
Waller, the beſt of all th' inſpir'd train,
To melt the fair inſtructs the dying ſwain.

Le jour qu'elle naquit, Venus bien qu' immortelle,
Penſa mourir de honte, en la voyant ſi belle,
Les graces a l'envi deſcendirent des cieux
Pour avoir l'honeur d' accompagner ſes yeux,
Et l'amour qui ne pût entre dans ſon courage,
Voulout obſtinement loger ſur ſon viſage.

* Corneille.

This is a lover's deſcription of his miſtreſs, by the great Corneille; civil to be ſure, and polite as any thing can be. Let any body turn over Waller, and he will ſee how much more naturally and delicately the Engliſh author treats the article of Love, than the celebrated Frenchman.

I would not, however, be thought, by any derogatory quotation, to take from the merit of a writer, whoſe reputation is ſo univerſally and ſo juſtly eſtabliſhed in all nations; but I ſaid before, I rather chooſe, where any failings are to be found, to correct my own countrymen by foreign examples, than to provoke them by inſtances drawn from their own writings. Humanum eſt errare.

I cannot forbear one quotation more from another celebrated French author. It is an epigram upon a monument for Francis I. king of France, by way of queſtion and anſwer; which in Engliſh is verbatim thus:

Under this marble, who lies buried here?
Francis the Great, a king beyond compare.
Why has ſo great a king ſo ſmall a ſtone?
Of that great king here's but the heart alone.
Then of this conqueror here lies but part;
No—here he lies all—for he was all heart.

The author was a Gaſcon, to whom I can properly oppoſe nobody ſo well as a Welſhman; for which purpoſe I am farther furniſhed from the fore-mentioned collection of Oxford verſes, with

with an epigram, by Martin Lluellin, upon the ſame ſubject, which I remember to have heard often repeated to me when I was a boy. Beſides, from whence can we draw better examples, than from the very ſeat and nurſery of the muſes?

Thus ſlain thy valiant anceſtor did lie,
When his one bark a navy did defy;
When now encompaſs'd round he victor ſtood,
And bath'd his pinnace in his conqu'ring blood,
'Till all the purple current, dry'd and ſpent,
He fell, and made the waves his monument.
Where ſhall the next fam'd Granville's aſhes ſtand?
Thy grandſire's fills the ſea, and thine the land.

I cannot ſay the two laſt lines, in which conſiſts the ſting or point of the epigram, are ſtrictly conformable to the rule herein ſet down; the word aſhes, metaphorically, can ſignify nothing but fame, which is mere ſound, and can fill no ſpace either of land or ſea: the Welſhman, however, muſt be allowed to have outdone the Gaſcon. The fallacy of the French epigram appears at firſt ſight: but the Engliſh ſtrikes the fancy, ſuſpends and dazzles the judgment, and may, perhaps, be allowed to paſs under the ſhelter of thoſe daring hyperboles, which, by preſenting an obvious meaning, make their way, according to Seneca, through incredible to true.

At the acceſſion of queen Anne, he ſtood as fair in the general eſteem as any man of his age, which was about five and twenty. His father, who was juſt dead, had made ſome proviſion for him; and his uncle, the earl of Bath, who did not ſurvive him long, had alſo left Mr. Granville a ſmall annuity; which, with the credit of his couſin, ſoon after created lord Granville of Potheridge, engaged him to come into parliament; and he was accordingly choſen for Fowey, in the firſt parliament of the queen, with John Hicks, eſq.

Soon after, he publiſhed, in conjunction with ſeveral other patriots, one of the orations of Demoſthenes, in order to excite a proper ſpirit in the nation againſt France; for, as an eminent writer obſerves, the Tories were at this time looked upon as ſincerely inclined to vigorous meaſures. This new ſpecimen of literature gained him many friends, at the ſame time that it added highly to his reputation, and is ſtill in very great eſteem.

As few countries were ever bleſſed with more great men at one ſeaſon than this iſland at that time, we may obſerve, that, in no period that can be aſſigned, there ever appeared a truer or a warmer ſpirit of liberty; it was to keep up this ſpirit, that ſome of our ableſt patriots thought it might be expedient to tranſlate ſome of the beſt orations of Demoſthenes, as containing the moſt perſuaſive arguments to animate the ſubjects of a free ſtate, to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in oppoſing the pernicious deſigns

ſigns of an ambitious and over-bearing neighbour; they thought it very fortunate, that, as without any manifeſt abſurdity they might compare their own government to that of Athens; there was, at the ſame time, ſo great and ſo apparent a likeneſs between the characters of Philip of Macedon and Lewis the Fourteenth.

We know not whether it was choice or accident, that determined our author to the ſecond Olynthian; but, whatever determined him, we may very boldly ſay, that he has tranſlated it with equal fidelity and beauty, and, without either forcing the ſenſe or ſtraining the ſpirit, has rendered it as applicable to the ſubject, which was the common object of all the tranſlators, as could be expected or even deſired.

It has been ſaid, that ſome of them made too free with the French tranſlator, conſidering the author's eloquence was to be turned againſt a French prince; this certainly was not Mr. Granville's caſe; and, to ſhew how admirably he did his part, and at the ſame time to ſhew how the good ſenſe, and ſound reaſoning of one age may ſquare with the circumſtances of another, though at a great diſtance, we will preſume to give a few paragraphs, and appeal to the reader's own judgment, whether the advice given in them, may not be read with edification even in our age.

"What time ſo proper for action? what occaſion ſo happy? and when can you hope for ſuch

ſuch another, if this be neglected? has not Philip, contrary to all treaties, inſulted you in Thrace? Does he not, at this inſtant, ſtraiten and invade your confederates, whom you have ſolemnly ſworn to protect? is he not an implacable enemy? a faithleſs ally? the uſurper of provinces to which he has no title or pretence? a ſtranger, a barbarian, a tyrant? and, indeed, what is he not? and yet, O ye immortal gods! when we ſhall have abandoned all things to this Philip; when, by the indifference of ſome, by the treachery of others, we have, as it were, added force and wings to his ambition, we ſhall yet make ourſelves a greater ſcorn to our enemies, by upbraiding and loading each other with the reproach. Each party, though equally guilty by their diviſions of the common calamity, will be imputing the miſcarriage to his neighbour; and, though never ſo conſcious, every one will be excuſing himſelf, by laying the blame on another: as, after the loſs of a battle, not a man that fled but accuſes his companion, condemns his general, and, ſeparately examined, no one takes ſhame to himſelf, each ſhifting the common diſgrace from one to another; but yet it is certain, that every individual man who gave ground was equally acceſſary to the general defeat. The man who accuſes his companion might have ſtood firm himſelf, had he pleaſed; and that which was a route, might have been a victory. Such is the pride and folly of parties overborne and ſwayed by perſonal prejudice;

dice; ſacrificing the public to private reſentment, and charging each other with miſcarriages for which they are every one equally accountable. A manager for one ſide propoſes, he is ſure to be oppoſed by a manager for the other, not gently and amicably, but with heat, malice, and unbecoming reflection; let a third, more moderate, ariſe, his opinion is not to be received, but as he is known to be engaged in a party. What good can be hoped from ſuch a confuſion of councils, directed only by prejudice or partiality, in defiance to ſenſe and right reaſon? If no advice that is given is to be received, but as it ſuits the humours of a party, or flatters the diſtempers of the times, it is not his fault who ſpeaks honeſtly, but yours, who reſolve to be deaf to all arguments that diſpleaſe you. In debates for the public, we are not to ſeek what will pleaſe, but what will profit. If our wiſhes exceed what we have means to accompliſh, we muſt contract our wiſhes, and confine them to what is within our power. Let the Gods have your prayers, to grant what is out of your reach, nothing is impoſſible to them: but we, who have only human means to act by, muſt be governed by circumſtances, doing as well as we can, and truſting the reſt to Providence."

The reader, upon the peruſal, will certainly concur with us, in opinion, that he could not have choſen a fitter oration then this; one more applicable to the end propoſed, or which al-

luded

luded more clearly to the ſtate of the times; ſo that the advice of Demoſthenes, though he lived ſo many ages before, and at ſuch a diſtance from us, is brought directly home; and, from the ſimiliarity of the conjunctures, his exhortations as properly adapted to the people of Britain then, as they were to the citizens of Athens when delivered.

His fortune received ſome improvement from an accident, in all other reſpects, big with irreparable loſs, the death of his brother Sir Bevil Granville, looked upon, at that time, as the riſing hopes of the family, who had given ſuch early proofs of magnanimity, as had diſarmed the rage of party, and, at the time of his deceaſe, was univerſally acknowledged to be a moſt deſerving officer, and a gentleman equally diſtinguiſhed by amiable and eſtimable qualities.

Sir Bevil received the honours of knighthood from king James II. in the camp at Hounſlow, on the twenty-ſecond of May, 1686, and was afterwards ſent by his uncle, the earl of Bath, to the iſland of Jerſey. He was lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Bath's regiment of the revolution, became afterwards colonel, and was at length promoted to the rank of major-general, behaving, upon all occaſions, with equal ſteadineſs and courage: in the battle of Steenkirk, particularly, he ſignalized himſelf more than any officer in the army.

This

This battle was fought on Sunday the third of Auguſt, 1692; the army of the allies being commanded by king William, and that of the French by the marſhal-duke de Luxemburgh. The vanguard being oppreſſed by numbers, and count Solmes neglecting to ſupport them, out of envy to the Engliſh, and diſtaſte to the prince of Wirtemburgh, who commanded; and having at laſt ſent horſe inſtead of foot, expreſly contrary to the royal orders, to their relief, his majeſty, who foreſaw the conſequences of this ill conduct, exerted himſelf with the utmoſt vigour to repair it, though by this time the foot were a mile diſtant from the troops that were engaged, and had already ſuffered ſeverely. However, the king made all poſſible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain with ſuch foot as could come up.

The eagerneſs of the ſoldiers to follow and engage the enemy, was ſuch, that they put themſelves into ſome diſorder, and took more time to form their battallions than could now be ſpared; ſo that, before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing being overpowered by thirty battallions of the enemy, who charged them continually one after another, and by a freſh body of dragoons brought up by bouffiers, they were forced to retreat in great confuſion, and to leave the wood to the enemies poſſeſſion.

The

The Engliſh life-guards owed their preſervation to the Daniſh foot-guards; and a regiment of Lunenburgh, commanded by the baron of Pibreck, being in diſorder upon the ſkirt of the wood, and the colonel himſelf dangerouſly wounded upon the place, Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the earl of Bath's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemies fire before he ſuffered his battalion to diſcharge. By this method he lodged himſelf in the narrow way near the wood, ordered his ſerjeants to carry off baron Pibreck, and maintained his poſt till he was commanded to leave it by the prince of Naſſau.

The king, enraged at the diſappointment of the vanguard, for want of timely relief, expreſſed his concern by often repeating theſe words, "Oh, my poor Engliſh, how they are abandoned!" nor would he admit count Solmes to his royal preſence for many months after. But conſidering that the attack was not to be renewed without endangering the loſs of the army, Luxemburgh being conſiderably reinforced by boufflers, and beſides the night drawing on, his majeſty commandad a retreat; which was performed with admirable order, and without any great diſturbance from the enemy, who never durſt engage the Engliſh in the rear.

After the death of king William, in the year 1703, we find Sir Bevil Granville advanced

vanced to be governor of Barbadoes, with a fixed ſalary of two thouſand pounds a year. He was extremely welcome to the inhabitants at his firſt arrival, though he had not been long there before diſputes aroſe which were gradually carried to a very great heighth, and, in conjunction with the warmth of the climate, had ſuch an operation on his health, that he ſollicited his recall; and having obtained it, went on board an infected ſhip, and died in his paſſage home, on the fifteenth of September, 1706, in the flower of his age, unmarried, and univerſally lamented.

He ſerved in parliament for the borough of Fowey, in the county of Cornwall, in the reign of king James; and under that of king William he was elected for that of Leſtwithiel.

Mr. Granville bore this blow of fortune with great ſteadineſs, and continued to dedicate his more ſerious hours to the ſervice of his country, and to ſpend his moments of leiſure with the muſes, whom he courted with dignity and freedom, and not with that eagerneſs and fondneſs which render men pedants even to poetry.

He continued to ſerve in the parliaments called in the fourth and ſeventh years of the ſame queen's reign. In the enſuing parliament, choſen in the ninth year of the queen, he was elected for the borough of Helſton, and alſo knight of the ſhire for the county of Cornwall, for which he ſerved.

On

On the great change which happened in the autumn of 1710, he came into employment with his friends; and on Michaelmas-day was declared ſecretary at war in the room of the late earl of Orford, then Robert Walpole, eſq. He continued in this office for ſome time, and diſcharged it with great capacity.

Towards the cloſe of the next year, he eſpouſed lady Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, earl of Jerſey, at that time the widow of Thomas Thyne, eſq. from whom ſhe enjoyed a conſiderable jointure, and by whom ſhe was the mother of the late lord-viſcount Weymouth.

On the thirty-firſt of December, 1711, he was, in conſideration of the great and eminent ſervices of his anceſtors, and his own conſpicuous merit, created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of lord Lanſdowne, baron of Biddeford, in the county of Devon. Amongſt the numerous creations at that time, there was none that gave greater ſatisfaction to one ſide, or leſs offence to the other, than this.

His lordſhip was apparently the next male in that noble family, in which two peerages had extinguiſhed almoſt together. His perſonal merit was univerſally allowed; and, with regard to his political ſentiments, even thoſe who thought him moſt miſtaken, allowed him to be open, candid, and uniform; expreſſing himſelf frankly upon all occaſions, and ſhewing rather more warmth when in oppoſition to power, than

than when his notions ſeemed to receive a favourable colour from faſhion.

He ſtood always high in the favour of queen Anne, and with great reaſon, having, upon every occaſion, teſtified the greateſt zeal for her government, and the moſt profound reſpect for her perſon. We need not wonder, therefore, that, in the ſucceeding year, he was advanced to the poſt of comptroller of the houſhold; and, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, ſworn of her majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

About that time twelvemonth, he became treaſurer of the houſhold, being ſucceeded in his former employment by Sir John Stonehouſe. His lordſhip continued in this poſt during the remaining part of the queen's reign, and till his majeſty, king George, was pleaſed, on the eleventh of October, 1714, to beſtow it upon the earl of Cholmondeley.

His connections with the tory miniſtry, and the generoſity of his diſpoſition, which would not allow him to deſert his friends in their diſtreſs, induced him to act with them in the beginning of that monarch's reign, when we find his name amongſt thoſe lords who proteſted againſt the bill for attainting Henry, lord-viſcount Bolingbroke, and alſo againſt that for attainting James duke of Ormond, unleſs they ſurrendered by a day certain.

This ſteadineſs of his lordſhip, in the ſupport of his old friends, expoſed him, as he muſt

muſt foreſee it would, to many inconveniencies; for, upon the inſurrections in Scotland and England, his lordſhip, though he was one of thoſe who ſigned the proclamation of king George the Firſt, upon the demiſe of her majeſty queen Anne; yet he was ſeized, as a ſuſpected perſon, on the twenty-ſixth of September, 1715, and committed priſoner to the Tower of London, where he continued a long time.

At this unfortunate juncture, the well-intended officiouſneſs of one of his ſervants, deprived the world of ſeveral excellent pieces that had fallen from his pen, by haſtily committing to the flames ſome papers, of which he had obſerved his lord to be particularly careful. The loſs was irreparable; for his lordſhip, being tender of the productions of his youth, ſuffered no copies to be taken, 'till, by repeated corrections and improvements, he had reconciled them to his maturer judgment.

He was at length diſcharged from his tedious impriſonment, on the eighth of February, 1717, when all dangers were over. His lordſhip's being ſet at liberty, was highly ſatisfactory to the polite part of the world, as he was a diſtinguiſhed patron of letters, and ever cheriſhed in others thoſe arts by which he had riſen himſelf into univerſal eſteem.

We find him, in 1719, as vigorous as ever in the houſe of lords, as appears by his ſpeech againſt repealing the act to prevent occaſional con-

conformity; to which, in point of eloquence and ſpirit, there are very few harangues in our language that ought to be preferred.

About three years afterwards, his lordſhip, for the ſake of his health, and for other reaſons, thought fit to go abroad, and continued out of the kingdom for ſeveral years. It was during this ſpace, that the firſt volume of the biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory of his own Times was made public; and, as that work made a very great noiſe, it is no wonder that his lordſhip peruſed it with attention; and finding the characters of the duke of Albemarle and the earl ot Bath treated in a manner he thought they did not deſerve, his lordſhip formed the deſign of doing them juſtice. This led him to look into the works of other hiſtorians, more eſpecially thoſe of the earl of Clarendon and Mr. Archdeacon Echard; where finding his great-uncle Sir Richard Greenvile more roughly treated, and his lordſhip having in his hands memoirs capable of ſetting his conduct in a fairer point of light, he reſolved to follow the dictates of his duty and his inclination, by publiſhing his ſentiments upon theſe heads and giving the world thoſe lights which, in reſpect to them, they had long wanted.

At his return to England, in 1732, he made this work of his public, which was generally well received, as being written with great ſpirit, and wonderful beauty of expreſſion; and, being full of new diſcoveries, gave the lovers of perſonal hiſtory infinite ſatisfaction.——

How-

However, there wanted not ſome who thought themſelves obliged in honour to oppoſe his lordſhip for very particular reaſons. Amongſt theſe Mr. Oldmixon was the firſt; and, tho' he was naturally of a very warm temper, embarked early in an oppoſite cauſe, and in ſome things had copied the authors his lordſhip condemned; yet, upon this occaſion, he wrote with temper, made his lordſhip great conceſſions, and contented himſelf with defending only a few points, and thoſe too not the moſt material in his lordſhip's performance.

The neareſt relation of the deceaſed prelate looked upon himſelf as obliged to enter the liſts alſo with his lordſhip; and, tho' more might have been urged in his excuſe than for any other man in a caſe of this nature, if he had tranſgreſſed a little the rules of moderation, yet he really wants it not; his diſcourſe is written with great coolneſs and calmneſs; and, while he ſays every thing that was in his power to ſay, and in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, there is nothing that has ſo much as an air of vehemence, much leſs of ill manners. Nay, this writer forbore making any attack, till his lordſhip had anſwered his former antagoniſt, Mr. Oldmixon, in a letter dated from Old-Windſor, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1732; in which his lordſhip made a full return of candour and civility.

But, in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, his lordſhip met with an opponent of a very different caſt, in Dr. Colbatch, of Trinity-college

lege, Cambridge, who undertook to vindicate the memory of Mr. archdeacon Echard, in reference to his account of the marriage-treaty between Charles the Second and the infanta of Portugal; and this he has done with great vigour and judgment, but at the ſame time with too much aſperity. He was a perſon perfectly well acquainted with the ſubject, as having reſided long in Portugal, and made the political affairs of that country his ſtudy. He was alſo a great maſter of argument, and thought himſelf at liberty to retort, where it was in his power, any obſervation; to cenſure every eſcape in expreſſion; and to criticiſe his lordſhip as an author, without paying too much regard to his quality.

He had better fortune than either of his predeceſſors; he attacked the weakeſt part of his lordſhip's book; and, knowing the advantage he had, kept ſteadily to that ſingle point, without wandering into other parts of the diſpute.

His lordſhip prudently declined an anſwer, and contented himſelf with having afforded the republic of letters an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral points of Engliſh hiſtory thoroughly ſifted, and ſome new facts brought to light, which otherwiſe, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion.

We have already made ſuch abundant uſe of his lordſhip's writings as clearly to prove whatever hath been aſſerted; but, for the ſatisfac-

tion of the reader, we will ſtill ſubjoin ſome farther inſtances in this place.

In reference to the loyalty of the county of Cornwall, our author has produced a very remarkable letter from king Charles I. dated from his camp at Sudley-caſtle, on the tenth of September, 1643; of which he informs us, that there is a copy hung up in almoſt every church and chapel in the county.

In reference to Sir Bevil Greenvile, he has furniſhed us with much; in regard to Sir Richard Greenvile, with a great deal more; but ſtill there are ſome things wanting that would give us much farther lights upon this ſubject.

Whitlocke has preſerved a circumſtance we meet with no were elſe; and, though but a rumour, and a falſe rumour too, is of ſome conſequence to that gentleman's character. After the defeat of Eſſex, in Cornwall, it was reported, and believed, that the king had created that gentleman baron of Leſtwithiel, an undeniable evidence, that common fame attributed to him the honour of that action.

We know not what is become of that relation which Sir Richard is ſaid not only to have written, but to have printed and publiſhed, of his own conduct in the weſt: and we are alſo in the dark as to the death of his only ſon: all that his lordſhip knew, was, that he ſuffered for his father's principle: all we have been able to diſcover farther, is the time of his death; which was on the eighth of March, 1657-8.

Many

Many things relating to the reſtoration, we have already had occaſion to mention, and ſeveral more belong to other articles, which therefore it would be improper to mention here. But there is a fact with regard to king Charles's queen Catharine, and her capacity of bearing children; which, through his lordſhip's means, has been ſtated in a pretty ſtrong light; and which, for that reaſon, ought not to be overlooked.

In reference to this, his lordſhip ſays, "As to the incapacity of the infanta bearing of children, it was never proved nor acknowledged: on the contrary, I have heard many ladies of equal quality to the ducheſs of Guadaloupa, ſome of them my near relations, who had the honour to attend upon her majeſty's perſon, from her firſt coming into England to her dying day, affirm it to have been a falſe imputation; and that ſhe was twice declared to be with child, is an undeniable proof of it."

This point is very fully explained by the the following commentary of Dr. Colebatch.

"Whether matters of this ſort be capable of proof, is more than I know; it is not likely they'll be acknowledged by the perſons concerned. It was cauſe ſufficient for the chancellor to take the alarm; and to warn his maſter of the danger, in caſe the thing was believed upon any probable preſumption.

"Mr. Echard, I'm ſure, hath dealt fairly with his reader, by acquainting him with what hath been alledged on one ſide and 'tother,

which he had for the moſt part from myſelf. He ſays very truly, that this ſuppoſed incapacity could not be imputed to the infanta's age or country. I have ſeen a woman, near Liſbon, with a child of her own in her arms, who ſeemed to be near fifty years, and upon my taking notice of it, was told, that women there, if they marry ſooner than thoſe of other countries, which is commonly the caſe, ſooner ceaſe to bear children, and not otherwiſe. So that, if there was any truth in the report concerning the incapacity of this princeſs, it muſt, as the archdeacon obſerves, be upon account of ſome peculiar infirmities of body. But ſuch a report there certainly was, and that before the marriage was compleated.

" Mr. John Pollexfen, a countryman of your lordſhip's, was a perſon ſo eminent in divers reſpects, that, in all likelihood, he was well known to your lordſhip; and, if ſo, he may have acquainted you with what I have heard from him myſelf; namely, that, when the earl of Sandwich came with the fleet to conduct the queen to England, this matter was the common ſubject of diſcourſe among our merchants at Liſbon; and that they (he, Mr. Pollexfen, being one of the number) remonſtrated to his lordſhip, that the king was not like to have iſſue by his marriage. Poſſibly the report may have been confirmed; if not raiſed by the ducheſs of Guadaloupa, whoſe brother, the duke of Aveiro, went over from Portugal to Caſtile (and ſhe with him,

as

as I ſuppoſe) about the time when the marriages was agreed upon.

"I am ſure, Sir Robert told me, that, being at Madrid when the news came thither of our queen's miſcarriage, he waited on that lady to acquaint her with it; which having done, he added, that there being now cauſe to expect a future pregnancy, he hoped it would be attended with more happy ſucceſs. But the ducheſs, who had been acquainted with the queen from her infancy, and in the nurſery, (they are Sir Robert Southwell's own words) ſhaking her head, gave him to underſtand, that ſhe looked upon ſuch hopes to be altogether groundleſs.

"I have, as I told Mr. Echard, ſeveral times heard the ſame thing affirmed by one lady, who had the honour of being allied to your lordſhip's family, and was the only proteſtant, of her rank and ſex, that attended the queen at Liſbon; I mean the lady Wyche; who declared, that, to her knowledge, her majeſty was in a child-bearing condition till after king Charles's death.

"I doubt not but that each of theſe ladies, had ſome particular reaſon on which to ground their opinion; ſo that great deference is due both to the teſtimony of one and of the other. But I do not ſee how any difference in their quality ſhould affect the credibility of their evidence on either ſide."

In proof, however, of ſo much of the fact, as that this matter, which ought always to

have been kept ſecret, was very early the topic of diſcourſe, and occaſioned ſome very ſtrange reports in Portugal, as well as in England.

We ſhall cite a paſſage of Sir Robert Southwell's letter, the rather becauſe it will give us a hint of thoſe by whom ſuch ſtories were propagated, no doubt, with the pious intention of deſtroying gradually the Engliſh intereſt in every court in Europe. This letter of Sir Robert's is directed to lord Arlington, and is dated December 2, 1667.

"I would not omit to tell your lordſhip of one queſtion which the queen aſked me; which was, Whether the queen of England was not divorced from his majeſty; which ſhe ſaid ſhe had heard; as alſo that the ducheſs was in like manner from his royal highneſs, and all the children declared illegitimate.

"Your lordſhip may imagine in what confuſion I was, to hear her diſcourſe on this ſubject; and the induſtry I uſed to efface theſe impreſſions; adding, for one conviction, the ſtrictneſs of the commands I had now newly received, to ſollicit the reſidue of the portion. Upon which her majeſty preſently applied the diſcourſe, pleading the poverty of the kingdom more ſenſibly than one who had talked of her departure from it. But, as to the report aforeſaid, it is hardly credible how hotly it was diſcourſed in this town about ten days ago, and even that her majeſty was already embarked; and it is now, in like manner, flown

all

all over the kingdom: and, though I do believe that ſome wild letters have, from the Portugueſe in England, been writ hither to this effect, yet I am ſure the French have fomented it with all the vigour they could."

An eminent prelate having reported in his hiſtory, that the ducheſs of Portſmouth had told Mr. Henley, of Hampſhire, that ſhe believed king Charles the Second was poiſoned, lord Lanſdowne, who was at Paris, where the ducheſs of Portſmouth was living, procured the queſtion to be aſked her, Whether ſhe had ever ſaid ſo or not; to which the ducheſs anſwered, That ſhe did not remember her being ſo much as acquainted with Mr. Henley: which his lordſhip looked upon as a clear confutation; whereas others thought it a mere evaſion; and, that, if there had been no truth in it, her grace would peremptorily have denied the fact, inſtead of reflecting upon the memory of the prelate, which ſhe did in very coarſe terms. However, in reſpect to the fact of the king's death, his lordſhip gives us his own ſentiments in the following words.

"As to the poiſoning part of the ſtory, it was always my opinion, and not ill grounded either, that the king haſtened his death by his own quackery. The laſt year of his life he had been much troubled with a ſore leg, which he endeavoured to conceal, and truſted too much to his own drugs and medicines. On a ſudden the running ſtopped, and it was then he was

ſeized with his apoplexy: a common caſe, fatal the moment thoſe ſort of ſores dry up.

"There being ſo natural a way of accounting for his death, to what purpoſe then all theſe forced ſpeculations from ſtrained circumſtances? No one but the next heir could have any intereſt in it, and he never was ſo much as accuſed or ſuſpected. The biſhop himſelf generouſly acquits him."

This was his lordſhip's ſentiment, and carries in it great probability: yet his grace of Buckingham, an older man, and who had better opportunities of knowing, ſeems to think otherwiſe. His words are theſe:

"I would not ſay any thing on ſo ſad a ſubject, if I did not think ſilence itſelf would, in ſuch a caſe, ſignify too much; and therefore, as an impartial writer, I am obliged to obſerve, That the moſt knowing, and moſt diſcerning, of all his phyſicians, did not only believe him poiſoned, but thought himſelf ſo too not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly."

His grace likewiſe does the ſame juſtice to his ſucceſſor. The phyſician he mentions was Dr. Short, a papiſt; and the expreſſion he made uſe of, was, That the king had not fair play for his life.

A very honourable and judicious writer has explained this in another ſenſe than that in which it has been commonly taken.

"It ſo fell out, that the acceſs of the king's diſtemper was ſuch, as no poiſon or medicament in the world could produce or counterfeit; that is, an apoplectic, or epileptic, fit, chooſe you whether; for in one of thoſe the king was certainly at firſt taken. He cried out, and then falling back in his chair lay as one dead.

"The phyſician in waiting immediately blooded him, and the following regimen was as in apaplectic caſes, his majeſty's being preſumed to be that, to get him to wake and then to keep him from ſleeping.

"One Dr. Stokeham, an eminent phyſician in Covent-garden; declared to me, That the phyſician that blooded the king utterly miſtook his caſe; for his fit was not an apoplexy, but epileptic; and then all they did was, ex diametro, wrong: for in that caſe bleeding is little leſs than mortal; and the way is, to let them doſe out the fit without diſturbance, and they will come to themſelves and be well; but the other courſe will ſooner make them mad, than recover them."

Hence he infers, that the natural conſtruction of Dr. Short's words was, that the methods uſed did more hurt than good; and, if he had been alone, and nothing at all done to him, nature had had it's courſe, which the doctor might probably mean by fair play.

We will venture to add, that theſe are the beſt accounts that are to be had of this matter;

and taking them together, we may be pretty certain of the truth. It was not the firſt, or the ſecond, fit of the kind the king had had, and recovered from by being let alone; but the circumſtance of drying up his leg might probably make it more violent, which the accident of his being improperly treated rendered mortal.

The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion, to which we were induced, that we might the better explain the great uſe of ſuch hiſtorical memoirs as thoſe are which lord Lanſdowne has publiſhed.

His lordſhip ſoon after took an opportunity of reviſing all his works, in order to a new edition, which might be worthy of them and of his lordſhip:—A circumſtance that does him great honour, and which has contributed not a little to preſerve that deference and reſpect to his memory which his many great talents and amiable qualities always ſecured, while living, to his perſon. He choſe to encreaſe the value of his writings, by examining and correcting, rather than by multiplying, them; he was his own critic, and performed that office with the ſteadineſs of a judge, and without being at all biaſſed by the natural tenderneſs of an author for his own productions. He choſe to be known to poſterity in his literary character, and very juſtly; having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo many different kinds of writing, both in proſe and verſe.

His

His lordſhip had the misfortune to ſurvive his younger as well as his elder brother; and, perhaps, there is nothing more affecting in his lordſhip's character, than that veneration he had for ſome, and that tenderneſs which he had for all, his family. Of the former, the reader has already ſeen many inſtances, and ſome of the latter: but there are two letters; one to his couſin, the laſt earl of Bath, in reſpect to his conduct in private life; the other to his nephew, Mr. Bevil Greenvile, on his entering into holy-orders; which, as it would be injuring his memory to omit, the reader here ſhall find them.

The firſt, addreſſed to the young earl of Bath, contains our author's ſentiments of the conduct fit for a nobleman, diſtinguiſhed by birth, bleſſed with a large fortune, and honoured with a ſingular mark of the royal favour, to purſue in his own country, upon a ſuppoſition, that, with theſe advantagss, there can be but one thing left to make him truly popular, not by meanly courting vulgar applauſe, but by conſulting the true intereſt of his country, and thereby joining the people's love to the ſovereign's choice.

There is a freedom, there is an honeſty, in this letter, which renders it invaluable; and there are ſo many occaſions continually occurring to which it may be applied, and it will be peruſed here by ſo many to whom it as properly belongs, as to the noble perſon to whom

it was addreſſed, that it cannot fail of doing continual ſervice.

To WILLIAM HENRY, Earl of Bath, &c. at the camp in Flanders, Sep. 22, 1710.

" EVERY living creature, my dear lord, is entitled to offices of humanity: the diſtreſſes even of an enemy ſhould reconcile us to him; if he thirſt, give him drink; if he hungers, give him food; overcome evil with good.

" It is with this diſpoſition I would have you enter into the exerciſe of that authority with which her majeſty has honoured you over your countrymen. Let nobody inſpire you with party prejudices and reſentments. Let it be your buſineſs to reconcile differences and heal diviſions, and to reſtore, if poſſible, harmony and good neighbourhood amongſt them. If then there ſhould be any left to wiſh you ill, make them aſhamed and confounded with your goodneſs and moderation: not that I would ever adviſe you to ſacrifice one hair of the head of an old friend to your family, to gain fifty new ones; but if you can encreaſe the number by courteſy and moderation, it may be worth the trial.

" Believe me, my dear lord, humanity and generoſity make the beſt foundatoin to build a character upon: a man may have birth, and riches, and power, wit, learning, courage; but,

but, without generoſity, it is impoſſible to be a great man. Whatever the rich and powerful may think of themſelves; whatever value they may ſet upon their abundance and grandeur, they will find themſelves but the more hated and deſpiſed for the ill uſe they make of it. You ſhould look upon yourſelves but as ſtewards and truſtees for the diſtreſſed: your over-abundance is but a depoſit for the uſe and relief of the unhappy: you are anſwerable for all ſuperfluities miſ-ſpent. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that Providence would have made ſuch diſtinctions among men, ſuch unequal diſtributions, but that they might endear themſelves one to another by mutual helps and obligations. Gratitude is the ſureſt cement of love, friendſhip, and ſociety.

"There are, indeed, rules to be obſerved, and meaſures to be kept, in the diſtribution of favours: we know who have both the power and inclination to do, but, for want of judgment in the direction, they paſs only for good-natured fools, inſtead of generous benefactors.

"My lord —— will grudge a guinea to an honeſt gentleman in diſtreſs, but readily give twenty to a common ſtrumpet; another ſhall refuſe to lend fifty pounds to his beſt friend, without ſufficient ſecurity, and the next moment ſet his whole fortune upon a card or dice chance, for which he can have no ſecurity. My lord —— is to be ſeen every day at a toy-

ſhop,

ſhop, ſquandering away his money in trinkets and baubles, and at the ſame time leaves his brothers and ſiſters without common neceſſaries.

"Generoſity does not conſiſt in a contempt of money, in throwing it away at random, without judgment or diſtinction, though that indeed is better than locking it up, for multitudes have the benefit of it; but in a right diſpoſition to proper objects, in proportion to the merit, the circumſtances, the rank and condition of thoſe who ſtand in need of our ſervice.

"Princes are more expoſed than any others to the miſplacing their favours: merit is ever modeſt, and keeps its diſtance. The forward and importunate ſtand always neareſt in ſight, and are not to be put out of countenance, nor thruſt out of the way.——I remember to have heard a ſaying of the late king James, That he never knew a modeſt man make his way in a court. David Floyd, whom you know, being then in waiting, at his majeſty's elbow, reply'd, bluntly, "Pray, Sir, whoſe fault's that?"——The king ſtood corrected, and was ſilent.

"If princes could ſee with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, what a happy ſituation it would be for themſelves and their ſubjects? To reward merit, to redreſs the injured, to relieve the oppreſſed, to raiſe the modeſt, to humble the inſolent; what a

godlike

godlike prerogative, if right uſe were made of it!

"How happy are you, my dear lord, who are born with ſuch generous inclinations, with judgment to direct them, and means to indulge them: of all men, moſt miſerable is he who has the inclination without the means. To meet with a deſerving object of compaſſion, without having the power to give relief, of all the circumſtances in life, is the moſt diſagreeable: to have the power, is the greateſt pleaſure.

"Methinks I ſee you ready to cry out, Good couſin, why this diſcourſe to me? What occaſion have I for theſe lectures? None at all, my dear lord; I am only making my court to you, by letting you ſee I think as you do.

"But one word more, and I have done.

"In truſt, intimacy, and confidence, be as particular as you pleaſe; in humanity, charity, and benevolence, univerſal."

To

To my Nephew Mr. Bevil Greenvile, upon his entering into Holy Orders.

"WHEN I look upon the date of your laſt letter, I muſt own myſelf blameable for not having ſooner returned you my thanks for it.

"I approve very well of your reſolution of dedicating yourſelf to the ſervice of God: you could not chooſe a better maſter, provided you have ſo ſufficiently ſearched your heart as to be perſuaded you can ſerve him well; in ſo doing, you may ſecure to yourſelf many bleſſings in this world, as well as a ſure expectation in the next.

"There is one thing which I perceive you have not yet thoroughly purged yourſelf from, which is flattery; you have beſtowed ſo much of that upon me in your letter, that I hope you have no more left, and that you meant it only to take your leave of ſuch flights of fancy, which, however well-meant, oftner put a man out of countenance than oblige him.

"You are now become a ſearcher after truth; I ſhall hereafter take it more kindly to be juſtly reproved by you, than to be undeſervedly complimented.

"I would not have you underſtand me as if I recommended to you a ſour preſbyterian ſeverity; that is yet more to be avoided. Ad-

vice.

vice, like phyſic, ſhould be ſo ſweetened and prepared, as to be made palatable, or nature will be apt to revolt againſt it. Be always ſincere, but, at the ſame time, be always polite; be humble, without deſcending from your character; reprove and correct, without offending good manners; to be a cynic, is as bad as to be a ſcycophant; you are not to lay aſide the gentleman with your ſword, nor to put on the gown to hide your birth and good breeding, but to adorn it.

"Such has been the malice of the world from the beginning, that pride, avarice, and ambition, have been charged upon the prieſthood in all ages, in all countries, and in all religions; what they are moſt obliged to combat againſt in their pulpit, they are moſt accuſed of encouraging in their conduct. It behoves you, therefore, to be more upon your guard in this than in any other profeſſion.—Let your example confirm your doctrine, and let no man have it in his power to reproach you with practiſing contrary to what you preach.

"You had an uncle, Dr. Dennis Granville, dean of Durham, whoſe memory I ſhall ever revere; make him your example. Sanctity ſat ſo eaſy, ſo unaffected, and ſo graceful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holineſs. He was as chearful, as familiar, and condeſcending, in his converſation, as he was ſtrict, regular, and exemplary, in his

his piety; as well-bred and accompliſhed as a courtier; as reverend and venerable as an apoſtle. He was, indeed, in every thing apoſtolical; for he abandoned all to follow his Lord and Maſter.

"May you reſemble him! May he revive in you! May his ſpirit deſcend upon you, as Elijah's upon Eliſha! and, May the great God of Heaven, in guiding, directing, and ſtrengthening your pious reſolutions, pour down his beſt and choiceſt bleſſings upon you.——You ſhall ever find me,

Dear Nephew,

Your moſt affectionate uncle,

and ſincere friend, &c.

LANSDOWNE."

Beſides the reverend Mr. Bevil Granville, to whom this letter is addreſſed, colonel Bernard Granville, his lordſhip's younger brother, who was alſo lieutenant-governor of Hull, had by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Martin Weſtcomb, conſul at Cadiz, Bernard, his ſon and heir; and two daughters, Mary and Anne.

The gentleneſs of his lordſhip's nature, in liſtening to every application that was made to him

him in every ſtation of life; his willingneſs to oblige to the utmoſt of his power; and his condeſcenſion on ſome occaſions, which added luſtre to his good nature; might be ſupported by various inſtances, if either neceſſity required, or the bounds of this article would permit.

His candour in judging of the works of others, was the more extraordinary, conſidering the care he took of his own: but his generoſity in ſupporting, encouraging, and recommending, men of genius, are qualities that muſt not be ſlightly paſſed over. His friendſhip to Betterton and Dryden was always conſtant, and his expreſſions of it governed by their diſtreſs; for to them he gave the profits of his plays, which had never appeared upon the ſtage if their neceſſities had not required them. His affection and reſpect for Wycherly, expreſſed in a letter, as is ſuppoſed, to lord viſcount Bolingbroke, ſhew his true ſenſe of merit in the ſtrongeſt and moſt agreeable light. His zeal in bringing the laſt great poet this country has produced with that credit on the public theatre, which is ſo neceſſary to give ſpirit and courage to a riſing genius, ought ever to be remembered with due praiſe.

The length of this letter prevents our tranſcribing it; but the latter part of it, which reſpects Mr. Pope, and which ſhews that this noble perſon was among the number of his firſt patrons, and who, together with Mr. Wycherley,

cherley, introduced him to this other Mæcenas, runs in the following terms:

"He ſhall bring with him, if you will, a young poet, newly inſpir'd in the neighbourhood of Cooper's Hill, whom he and Walſh have taken under their wing; his name is Pope; he is not above ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, and promiſes miracles: if he goes on as he has begun, in the paſtoral way, as Virgil firſt tried his ſtrength, we may hope to ſee Engliſh poetry vie with the Roman, and this ſwan of Windſor ſing as ſweetly as the Mantuan."

All the world knows in what terms Mr. Pope addreſſed this great man in the opening of his Windſor Foreſt: and therefore it is unneceſſary to repeat them; but with a private letter that accompanied that public inſcription, the world may not be ſo well acquainted; and therefore, from its pertinence to our purpoſe, we muſt beg leave to bring it to their notice.

To my Lord LANSDOWNE.

Binfield, Jan. 10, 1712.

"I thank you for having given my poem of Windſor Foreſt it's greateſt ornament, that of bearing your name in the front of it. 'Tis one thing, when a perſon of true merit permits us to have the honour of drawing him as like as we can; and another, when we make a fine thing at random, and perſuade the next vain creature we can find, that 'tis his own likeneſs; which is the caſe every day of my fellow-ſcriblers. Yet, my lord, this honour has given me no more pride than your honour's have given you; but it affords me a great deal of pleaſure, which is much better than a great deal of pride; and it indeed would give me ſome pain, if I was not ſure of one advantage, that, whereas others are offended, if they had not more than juſtice done 'em: you would be diſpleaſed if you had ſo much; therefore I may ſafely do you as much injury in my words, as you do yourſelf in your own thoughts. I am ſo vain as to think I have done you a favour in ſparing your modeſty, and you cannot but make me ſome return for prejudicing the truth to gratify you: this I beg may be the free correction of theſe verſes, which

which will have few beauties, but what may be made by your blots. I am in the circumſtance of an ordinary painter, drawing Sir Godfrey Kneller, who, by a few touches of his own, could make the piece very valuable: I might then hope, that, many years hence, the world might read in conjunction with your name, that of

"Your Lordſhip's, &c."

We will cloſe this article with a juſt ſtroke of cenſure on his lordſhip and his writings, by his grace the duke of Buckinghamſhire and Normandy.

When Buckingham came, he ſcarce car'd to be ſeen,
Till Phœbus deſir'd his old friend to walk in;
But a laureat peer had never been known,
The commoners claim'd that place as their own.

Yet, if the kind God had been ne'er ſo inclin'd
To break an old rule, yet he well knew his mind:
Who of ſuch preferment, would only make ſport;
And laugh'd at all ſuitors for places at court.

Not-

Notwithſtanding this law, yet Lanſdown was nam'd;
But Apollo, with kindneſs, his indolence blam'd;
And ſaid he would chuſe him, but that he ſhould fear
An employment of trouble he never could bear.

The laſt years of his lordſhip's life were ſpent in privacy and retirement. He had certainly talents enough to have raiſed him to the higheſt offices, and friends enough to have reconciled him to any party; but the mortifications he had met with in the middle part of his life, checked his ambition, and he had ſeen enough of the world to deſpiſe it. Yet he was not ſoured to a degree of becoming ſplenetic or cynical enough, either to refuſe or to be ungrateful for royal favours. The late queen having honoured him with her protection, the laſt verſes he wrote were to inſcribe two copies of his poems, one of which was preſented to her majeſty, and the other to the princeſs-royal Anne.

His lordſhip deceaſed at his houſe near Hanover ſquare, on the thirtieth of January, 1735, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age.

By his only wife, lady Mary Villiers, who died a few days before him, he had no iſſue male; ſo that in him the title of Lanſdowne became extinct. He had, however, by her ladyſhip,

ladyſhip, four daughters; viz, Anne; Mary, married on the fourteenth of March, 1729-30, to William Graham, of Platten, near Drogheda, in the kingdom of Ireland, who deceaſed in the month of November, in the ſame year with his lordſhip; Grace, married on the twenty-ninth of March, 1740, to Thomas Foley, jun. eſq. ſon and heir of Thomas Foley, eſq. member of parliament for Hereford; and Elizabeth.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM
29
FEB

Lord Treasurer Harley

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT HARLEY.

ROBERT HARLEY, afterwards earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, and lord-high-treaſurer in the reign of queen Anne, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Edward Harley, and born in Bow-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Paul, Covent-Garden, upon the fifth of December, 1661.

He was educated under the reverend Mr. Birch, at Shilton, near Burford, in Oxfordſhire; which, though a private ſchool, was remarkable for producing, at the ſame time, a lord high-treaſurer, viz. lord Oxford; a lord-high-chancellor, viz. lord Harcourt; a lord-chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, viz. lord Trevor; and ten members of the houſe of commons; who were all contemporaries as well at ſchool as in parliament. Here he laid the foundation of that extenſive knowledge and learning which rendered him afterwards ſo conſpicuous in the world.

At the revolution, Sir Edward Harley, and this his eldeſt ſon, raiſed a troop of horſe at their own expence; and, after the acceſſion of king William and queen Mary, he was firſt

choſen member of parliament for Tregony, in Cornwall, and afterwards ſerved for the town of Radnor, till he was called up to the houſe of lords.

In 1690, he was choſen by ballot one of the nine members of the houſe of commons, commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts; and alſo one of the arbitrators for uniting the two India companies.

In 1694, the houſe of commons ordered Mr. Harley, on the nineteenth of November, to prepare and bring in a bill, For the Frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments; which he accordingly did upon the twenty-ſecond, and it was received and agreed to by both houſes, without any alteration or amendment.

On the eleventh of February, 1701-2, he was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and that parliament being diſſolved the ſame year, by king William, and a new one called, he was again choſen ſpeaker on the thirty-firſt of December following, as he was in the firſt parliament called by queen Anne.

On the ſeventeenth of April, 1704, he was ſworn of her majeſty's privy council; and, on the eighteenth of May following, ſworn in council one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, being alſo ſpeaker of the houſe of commons at the ſame time.

In 1706, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the treaty of union with Scotland, which took effect; and reſigned his place of

of principal ſecretary of ſtate in February, 1707-8.

On the tenth of Auguſt, 1710, he was conſtituted one of the commiſſioners of the Treaſury; alſo chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer: and, having three days after, been again ſworn in the privy-council, he was, on the eighth of March following, in great danger of his life; the marquis of Guiſcard, a French papiſt, then under examination of a committee of the privy-council at Whitehall, ſtabbing him with a penknife, which he took up in the clerk's room, where he waited before he was examined. Guiſcard was thereupon impriſoned, and died in Newgate on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month.

As the Examiner is very circumſtantial in its account of this horrid attempt, for the farther ſatisfaction of our readers, we will inſert the Thirty-ſecond Number of that ingenious performance.

Non eſt ea medicina, cum ſanæ parti corporis ſcalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ! carneficina eſt iſta, & credulitas. Hi medentur Reipublicæ qui exſecent peſtem aliquam, tanquam ſtrumam Civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general ſubject of my diſcourſes, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and ſurpriſing nature; a great miniſter, in high confidence with the queen, under whoſe management the weight of affairs at preſent is in a great meaſure ſuppoſed to lie; ſitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of ſtate, is ſtabbed at the very board in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French papiſt, then under examination for high-treaſon. The aſſaſſin redoubles his blow, to make ſure work; and, concluding the chancellor was diſpatched, goes on with the ſame rage to murder a principal ſecretary of ſtate: and that whole noble aſſembly are forced to riſe, and draw their ſwords in their defence, as if a wild beaſt had been let looſe among them.

This fact hath ſome circumſtances of aggravation not to be parallelled by any of the like kind we meet with in hiſtory. Cæſar's murder being performed in the ſenate, comes neareſt to the caſe; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief ſenators, who

who were likewiſe the actors in it: and not the work of a vile ſingle ruffian. Harry the Third, of France, was ſtabbed by an enthuſiaſtic friar, whom he ſuffered to approach his perſon, while thoſe who attended him ſtood at ſome diſtance. His ſucceſſor met the ſame fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles, in ſuch a confinement, were able to defend themſelves. In our country, we have, I think, but one inſtance of this ſort which hath made any noiſe; I mean that of Felton, about fourſcore years ago: but he took the opportunity to ſtab the duke of Buckingham in paſſing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither ſeen or heard, and the murderer might have eſcaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is uſual in ſuch caſes, had not betrayed him. Beſides, that act of Felton will admit of ſome extenuation from the motives he is ſaid to have had: but this attempt of Guiſcard ſeems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumſtance, except the difference of perſons between a king and a great miniſter: for I give no allowance at all to the difference of ſucceſs (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the leaſt alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the puniſhment.

I am ſenſible it is ill arguing from particulars to generals; and, that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few deſperate villains it is ſo unfortunate to produce:

yet, at the ſame time, it muſt be avowed, that the French have, for theſe laſt centuries, been ſomewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the perſons of their greateſt men; ſuch as, the admiral de Coligny: the dukes of Guiſe, father and ſon: and the two kings I have laſt mentioned.

I have ſometimes wondered how a people, whoſe genius ſeems wholly turned to ſinging and dancing, and prating; to vanity and impertinence; who lay ſo much weight upon modes and geſtures; whoſe eſſentialities are generally ſo very ſuperficial; who are uſually ſo ſerious upon trifles, and ſo trifling upon what is ſerious; have been capable of committing ſuch ſolid villanies; more ſuitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or ſilence and thoughtfulneſs of an Italian: unleſs it be, that, in a nation ſo full of themſelves, and of ſo reſtleſs imaginations; when any of them happen to be of a moroſe and gloomy conſtitution, that huddle of confuſed thoughts, for want of evaporating, uſually terminates in rage or deſpair.

D'Avila obſerves, that Jacques Clement was a ſort of buffoon, whom the reſt of the friars uſed to make ſport with; but, at laſt, giving his folly a ſerious turn, it ended in enthuſiaſm, and qualified him for that deſperate act of murdering his king.

But in the marquis de Guiſcard there ſeems to have been a complication of ingredients for ſuch

ſuch an attempt: he had committed ſeveral enormities in France; was extremely prodigal and vicious; of a dark complexion and cloudy countenance, ſuch as in vulgar phyſiognomy is called an Ill Look. For the reſt, his talents were very mean, having a ſort of inferior cunning, but very ſmall abilities: ſo that a great man of the late miniſtry, by whom he was invited over, and with much diſcretion raiſed, at firſt ſtep, from a profligate popiſh prieſt to a lieutenant-general and colonel of a regiment of horſe, was forced at laſt to drop him for ſhame.

Had ſuch an accident happened under that miniſtry, and to ſo conſiderable a member of it; they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of thoſe they are pleaſed to call the Faction. This would have been called a High-Church Principle; the clergy would have been accuſed as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been ſent, to promiſe the criminal his life; provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confeſſion; and a Black Liſt would have been printed of all thoſe who had been ever ſeen in the murderer's company. But, the preſent men in power hate and deſpiſe all ſuch deteſtable arts, which they might now turn upon their adverſaries with much more plauſibility, than ever theſe did their honourable negotiations with Greg.

And here it may be worth obſerving how unanimous a concurrence there is between ſome perſons once in high power, and a French papiſt; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. Harley's life, although differing in their methods. The firſt proceeding by ſubornation, the other by violence; wherein Guiſcard ſeems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others deſigned to deſtroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both againſt this gentleman ſeems to have riſen from the ſame cauſe; his diſcovering deſigns againſt the government.

It was Mr. Harley who detected the treaſonable correſpondence of Greg, and ſecured him betimes; when a certain great man, who ſhall be nameleſs, had, out of the depth of his politics, ſent him a caution to make his eſcape; which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. Harley: but, when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal with a promiſe of a pardon, to write and ſign an accuſation againſt the ſecretary. But, to uſe Greg's own expreſſion, His death was nothing near ſo ignominious, as would have been ſuch a life that muſt be ſaved by proſtituting his conſcience.

The ſame gentleman lies now ſtabbed by his other enemy, a popiſh ſpy, whoſe treaſon he hath diſcovered. God preſerve the reſt of her majeſty's

majeſty's miniſters from ſuch proteſtants, and from ſuch papiſts!

I ſhall take occaſion to hint at ſome particularities in this ſurpriſing fact, for the ſake of thoſe at diſtance, or who may not be thoroughly informed.

The murderer confeſſed in Newgate, that his chief deſign was againſt Mr. Secretary St. John, who happened to change ſeats with Mr. Harley, for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being aſked what provoked him to ſtab the chancellor; he ſaid, That, not being able to come at the ſecretary, as he intended, it was ſome ſatisfaction to murder the perſon whom he thought Mr. St. John loved beſt.

And here, if Mr. Harley had ſtill any enemies left, whom his blood ſpilt in the public ſervice cannot reconcile; I hope they will at leaſt admire his magnanimity, which is a quality eſteemed even in an enemy: and, I think, there are few greater inſtances of it to be found in ſtory.

After the wound was given, he was obſerved neither to change his countenance, nor diſcover any concern or diſorder in his ſpeech: he roſe up, and walked along the room while he was able, with the greateſt tranquillity, during the midſt of the confuſion. When the ſurgeon came, he took him aſide, and deſired he would inform him freely, whether the wound were mortal; becauſe, in that caſe, he

ſaid, he had ſome affairs to ſettle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow againſt a rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths) as the ſurgeon was going to dreſs him; he ordered it to be taken up, and, wiping it himſelf, gave it ſomebody to keep, ſaying, he now thought it properly belonged to him. He ſhewed no ſort of reſentment, or ſpoke one violent word againſt Guiſcard; but appeared all the while the leaſt concerned of any in the company.——A ſtate of mind, which, in ſuch an exigency, nothing but innocence can give; and is truly worthy of a Chriſtian philoſopher.

If there be really ſo great a difference in principle, between the High-flying Whigs and the Friends of France; I cannot but repeat the queſtion, How come they to join in the deſtruction of the ſame man? Can his death be poſſibly for the intereſt of both? or, Have they both the ſame quarrel againſt him, that he is perpetually diſcovering and preventing the treacherous deſigns of our enemies? However it be, this great miniſter may now ſay with St. Paul, That he hath been in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by ſtrangers.

In the midſt of ſo melancholy a ſubject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country that ſuch a ſavage monſter as the marquis de

Guiſcard

Guiſcard is none of her production: A wretch, perhaps, more deteſtable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act hath been yet able to repreſent him to the world. For, there are good reaſons to believe, from ſeveral circumſtances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than thoſe he happened to execute; I mean ſuch as every good ſubject muſt tremble to think on.

He hath of late been frequently ſeen going up the back-ſtairs at court, and walking alone in an outer-room adjoining to her majeſty's bed-chamber. He hath often and earneſtly preſſed for ſome time to have acceſs to the queen, even ſince his correſpondence with France; and he hath now given ſuch a proof of his diſpoſition, as leaves it eaſy to gueſs what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legiſlature will interpoſe on ſo extraordinary an occaſion as this, and direct a puniſhment ſome way proportionable to ſo execrable a crime.

Et quicunque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita ——

An act of parliament was ſoon after paſſed, making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to attempt the life of a private counſellor in the execution of his office; and a clauſe was inſerted, To juſtify and indemnify all perſons, who, in aſſiſting in defence of Mr. Harley, chancellor of the Exchequer, when he was ſtabbed by the ſieur de Guiſcard, and in ſecuring him, did give any wound or bruiſe to the ſaid ſieur de Guiſcard, whereby he received his death.

Both houſes of parliament addreſſed the queen on this occaſion, and expreſſed their great concern "at the moſt barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the perſon of Robert Harley, eſq. chancellor of your majeſty's exchequer, by the marquis of Guiſcard, a French papiſt, at the time when he was under examination for treaſonable practices, before a committee of your majeſty's council.

"We cannot but be moſt deeply affected, to find ſuch an inſtance of inveterate malice againſt one employed in your majeſty's council, and ſo near your royal perſon; and we have reaſon to believe, that his fidelity to your majeſty, and zeal for your ſervice, have drawn on him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction.

"We think it our duty, on this occaſion, to aſſure your majeſty, that we will effectually ſtand by and defend your majeſty, and thoſe who have the honour to be employed in your ſervice,

ſervice, againſt all public and ſecret attempts of your enemies," &c.

To which the queen returned this anſwer:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I TAKE this addreſs very kindly from you, on the occaſion of that barbarous attempt on Mr. Harley, whoſe zeal and fidelity in my ſervice muſt yet appear more eminently by that horrid endeavour to take away his life, for no other reaſon that appears, but his known oppoſition to popery and faction. Your warm concern for the ſafety of my perſon, and the defence of thoſe employed in my ſervice, is very grateful to me," &c.

The wound he had received confined him for ſome weeks; but the houſe being informed that it was almoſt healed, and that he would in a few days come abroad, they reſolved to congratulate his eſcape and recovery; and accordingly, upon his next attending the houſe, which was, on the twenty-ſixth of April, the ſpeaker addreſſed himſelf to him in a very reſpectful ſpeech, to which Mr. Harley returned as reſpectful an anſwer.

In the year 1711, queen Anne, to reward his many eminent ſervices, was pleaſed to advance

vance him to the peerage of Great-Britain, by the ſtile and titles of baron Harley, of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford; earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer; with remainder, for want of male iſſue of his own body, to the heirs male of Sir Robert Harley, knight of the bath, his grand-father.

We will tranſcribe the preamble of the letters patent, bearing date the eleventh of May, to ſhew the reader, how prodigiouſly high Mr. Harley's credit ſtood with the people of England, as well as with the governing powers, at that time.

"WHATEVER favour the equity of a prince can beſtow on a gentleman deſcended from an illuſtrious and very ancient family, framed by nature for great things, improved by education in all manner of learning for greater, exerciſed by long experience in buſineſs, verſed in very different employments of the commonwealth, with extraordinary reputation, and not without danger, ſuch as our truſty and well-beloved counſellor Robert Harley juſtly deſerved of us; he being the only man who, by a full houſe of commons, was choſen ſpeaker by three ſucceſſive parliaments; and, at the ſame time that he held the chair, was one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate: his capacity fitting him for the management of thoſe two important offices; which, though they ſeemed to diſagree in themſelves,

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were eaſily reconciled by one who knew how, with equal weight and addreſs, to temper and turn the minds of men; ſo wiſely to defend the rights of the people, without derogating from the prerogative of the crown; and who was thoroughly acquainted how well monarchy could conſiſt with liberty.

"Having run through theſe two employments at the ſame time, after ſome breathing-while, he took care of our treaſury, as chancellor of our exchequer; put a ſtop to the growing embezzlement of the public money, which was ſpreading far and wide, like a contagion; provided for the ſettling a new trade to the South-Seas; and having, with wonderful ſagacity, very lately, and in a very good time, retrieved the languiſhing condition of our Exchequer, and thus reſtored public credit, merited the applauſe of the parliament, filled our citizens with joy, and us, for our intereſt is ever the ſame with that of our people, with no ſmall ſatisfaction; for theſe reaſons, we determine to confer on a gentleman, who has deſerved ſo well of us, and of all our good ſubjects, thoſe honours which were long ſince due to him and his family; being induced thereto by our own inclination, and the general voice of all Great Britain.

"Since therefore the two houſes of parliament have declared, that the fidelity and affection he has expreſſed in our ſervice, have expoſed him to the hatred of wicked men, and the deſperate rage of a villainous parricide; ſince they have congratulated his eſcape from

ſuch

ſuch imminent dangers, and put us in mind, that he might not be preſerved in vain; we willingly comply with their deſires, and grant him, who comes ſo honourably recommended by the hearty votes of our parliament, a place among our peers; to whom, by the noble blood and long train of his anceſtors, he is ſo nearly allied; and that, with all felicity, he take his title from the city where learning flouriſhes in ſo great a degree, himſelf the ornament of learning, and patron of learned men.

"Know," &c.

In regard to the latter part of his lordſhip's character, it may be juſtly obſerved, that he was not only an encourager of literature, but the greateſt collector in his time of all curious books in print and manuſcript, eſpecially thoſe concerning the hiſtory of his own country; which were preſerved, and much augmented, by the late earl his ſon. He was alſo himſelf a man of taſte and letters; and under this character we find a propoſal addreſſed to him by dean Swift, for correcting, improving, and aſcertaining the Engliſh tongue.

On the twenty-ninth of May, 1711, the queen appointed the earl of Oxford lord-high-treaſurer of Great-Britain; and, on the firſt of June, his lordſhip took the uſal oath as ſuch; on which occaſion, Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord-keeper, made him the following ſpeech:

"My

" My Lord,

THE queen, who does every thing with the greateſt wiſdom, has given a proof of it in the honours ſhe has lately conferred on you, which are exactly ſuited to your deſerts and qualifications. My lord, the title which you now bear could not have been ſo juſtly placed on any other of her majeſty's ſubjects. Some of that antient blood which fills your veins, is derived from the Veres; and you have ſhewed yourſelf as ready to ſacrifice it for the ſafety of your prince, and the good of your country, and as fearleſs of danger, on the moſt trying occaſions, as ever any of that brave and loyal houſe were. Nor is that title leſs ſuited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief ſeats of learning; for even your enemies, my lord, if any ſuch there ſtill are, muſt own, that the love of letters, and the encouragement of thoſe who excel in them, is one diſtinguiſhing part of your character.

" My lord, the high ſtation of lord-treaſurer of Great-Britain, to which her majeſty has called you, is the juſt reward of your eminent ſervices. You have been the great inſtrument of reſtoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy preſſure and ignominy of an immenſe debt, under which it languiſhed; and you are now intruſted with

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the power of ſecuring us from a relapſe into the ſame ill ſtate, out of which you have reſcued us.

"This great office, my lord, is every way worthy of you; prrticularly on the account of thoſe many difficulties with which the faithful diſcharge of it muſt be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like your's to maſter them."

"The only difficulty which even you, my lord, may find inſuperable, is, how to deſerve better of the crown and kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it."

"When the earl of Godolphin," ſays dean Swift, "was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of ſome millions, all contracted under his adminiſtration, which had no parliament ſecurity, and was daily encreaſed. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the ſmalleſt proſpect of clearing this incumbrance; or, whether there were policy, negligence, or deſpair, at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the conſequences were viſible and ruinous; for, by this means, navy bills grew to be forty per cent. diſcount, and upwards; and almoſt every kind of ſtores bought by the Navy and Victualling-offices, coſt the government double rates, and ſometimes more: ſo that the public hath directly loſt ſeveral millions upon this one article, without any ſort of neceſſity

that

that I could ever hear aſſigned by the ableſt vindicators of that party.

"In this oppreſſed and intangled ſtate was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of Godolphin from his office, and it into commiſſion, of which the preſent treaſurer (lord Oxford) was one.

"This perſon had been choſen ſpeaker, ſucceſſively to three parliaments, was afterwards ſecretary of ſtate, and always in great eſteem with the queen for his wiſdom and fidelity.

"The late miniſtry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majeſty, much againſt her inclination, to diſmiſs him from her ſervice; for which they cannot be juſtly blamed, ſince he had endeavoured the ſame thing againſt them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he ſhould ſucceed in a ſecond attempt againſt thoſe very adverſaries, who had ſuch fair warning by the firſt.

"He is firm and ſteady in his reſolutions, not eaſily diverted from them, after he hath once poſſeſſed himſelf of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himſelf; being taught by experience, that a ſecret is ſeldom ſafe in more than one breaſt. That which occurreth to other men after mature deliberation, offereth to him at

at his firſt thoughts; ſo that he decideth immediately what is beſt to be done; and is therefore very ſeldom at a loſs upon ſudden exigencies. He thinketh it a more eaſy and ſafe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he purſues, than pretend to foreſee them at a great diſtance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly ſtrangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether diſapprove and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an eaſineſs and indifference under any imputation, although he be ever ſo innocent, and although the ſtrongeſt probabilities and appearances are againſt him; ſo that I have known him often ſuſpected by his neareſt friends, for ſome months, in points of the higheſt importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident.

"His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the ſenſe they take the word, and as it is uſually underſtood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with leſs juſtice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonſtrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in ſerving little turns, propoſing little ends,

and

and ſupplying daily exigencies by little ſhifts and expedients. But to reſcue a prince out of the hands of inſolent ſubjects, bent upon ſuch deſigns as muſt probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying ſuch exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the moſt important fortreſs of his kingdom as a ſecurity; and this againſt all the oppoſition mutually raiſed and inflamed by parties and allies; ſuch performances can only be called cunning, by thoſe, whoſe want of underſtanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themſelves do neither poſſeſs, nor can form any juſt notion of. However, it muſt be allowed, that an obſtinate love of ſecrecy in this miniſter, ſeemeth at diſtance, to have ſome reſemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of ſecrets, but appeareth to be ſo to; which I number amongſt his defects.

"He hath been blamed by his friends for refuſing to diſcover his intentions, even in thoſe points where the wiſeſt men may have need of advice and aſſiſtance; and ſome have cenſured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to anſwer, That he ſeldom did otherwiſe without cauſe to repent. However, ſo undiſtinguiſhed a can-

a caution cannot, in my opinion, be juſtified, by which the owner loſeth ſo many advantages, and whereof all men, who deſerved to be confided in, may, with ſome reaſon, complain.

" His love of procraſtination (wherein, doubtleſs, nature hath her ſhare) may probably be encreaſed by the ſame means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great miniſters, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the leaſt conſequence, and go back to fetch it when their ſhoulders are free; for time is often gained as well at loſt by delay, which, at worſt, is a fault on the ſecurer ſide. Neither, probably, is this miniſter anſwerable for half the clamour raiſed againſt him upon that article: his endeavours were wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular perſons: which rendereth him leſs amiable than he would otherwiſe have been from the goodneſs of his humour, and agreeable converſation, in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet ſome allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greateſt he hath, ſince he cannot be more careleſs of other men's fortunes than he is of his own.

" He is maſter of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty uſe in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced, in any age, of a perſon who hath paſſed through ſo many

many employments in ſtate, endowed with a greater ſhare both of divine and human learning.

"I am perſuaded that foreigners, as well as thoſe at home, who live too remote from the ſcene of buſineſs to be rightly informed, will not be diſpleaſed with this account of a perſon, who, in the ſpace of two years, hath been ſo highly inſtrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe; and hath deſerved ſo well of his own prince and country.

"In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already deſcribed, this miniſter was brought into the Treaſury and Exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs.

"His firſt regulation was that of exchequer-bills, which, to the great diſcouragement of public credit, and ſcandal to the crown, were three per cent. leſs in value than the ſums ſpecified in them.

"The preſent treaſurer, being then chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the Bank of England ſhould be obliged, in conſideration of forty five thouſand pounds, to accept and circulate the bills without any diſcount. He then proceeded to ſtop the depredations of thoſe who dealt in remittances of money to the army; who, by unheard of exactions in that kind of traffic, had amaſſed prodigious wealth at the public coſt; to which the earl of Godolphin had

had given too much way,——* possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.

"But the new treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed; and which former ministers had never the care or courage to inspect.

"He resolved at once to go to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordinance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710; and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this: which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years, would clear the debt it was engaged for.

"The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company, for trading to the South-Seas, and for encouragement of fishery.

* Added in the Author's own hand-writing.

"When

"When all this was fully prepared and digeſted, he made a motion in the houſe of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted.—But a ſudden ſtop was put to this affair, by that horrid attempt of Guiſcard, which happened on the following day, and of which we have already given the reader an account.

"The overtures made by this miniſter of paying ſo vaſt a debt, under the preſſures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding ſupplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illneſs, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and viſionary project; and when, upon his return to the houſe, he had explained his propoſal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppoſe it; although the obtaining of this trade, either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at in this war.

"However the bill paſſed; and, as an immediate conſequence, the navy-bills roſe to about twenty per cent. nor ever fell within ten of their diſcount.

"Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have ever ſince been erected. The laſt of that kind, under the former miniſtry was eleven

weeks in filling; whereas the firſt, under the preſent, was filled in a very few hours, altho' it coſt the government leſs; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could paſs. And to prevent the incumbrances of this kind from growing, for the future, he took care, by the utmoſt parſimony, or by ſuſpending payments, where they ſeemed leſs to preſs, that all ſtores of the navy ſhould be bought with ready-money; by which cent. per cent. hath been ſaved in that mighty article of our expence; as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the ninth of Auguſt, 1712: and the payment of the intereſt was a leſs burthen upon the navy, by the ſtores being bought at ſo cheap a rate.

"It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of ſmaller moment. What I have above related, may ſerve to ſhew in how ill a condition the kingdom ſtood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence, of former management: and what prudent, effectual meaſures have ſince been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new."

As nothing can give the reader a clearer view of the tory repreſentations of the peace of Utrecht, which is thought to have had ſuch an effect upon the political ſyſtem of Europe, and in

in which Harley is known to have been a chief mover, than the queen's ſpeech to the parliament upon that occaſion, we ſhall therefore inſert it verbatim.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE making peace and war is undoubtedly the prerogative of the crown; yet, ſuch is the juſt confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you, that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by meſſages, I promiſed to communicate to you the terms of peace before they ſhould be concluded.

" In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to let you know upon what terms that peace may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have been encreaſed by other obſtructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing, however, hath hindered me from ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true intereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed in the houſe of Hanover, to theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms, but to have an additional ſecurity, by the removal of that perſon out of the dominions of France who hath pretended to diſturb this ſettlement.

" The apprehenſion that Spain and the Weſt-Indies might be united to France, was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of ſuch a union was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty: former examples, and the late negotiations, ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find means to accompliſh this work. I would not content myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or depend on treaties only: I inſiſted on what was ſolid, and to that end have at hand the power of executing what ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, That France at laſt is brought to offer, That the duke of Anjou ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendants, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France: and, that this important article may be expoſed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promiſe.

" At the ſame time, the ſucceſſion to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the preſent dauphin and his ſons, to

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be in the duke of Berry and his ſons, in the duke of Orleans and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

" As to Spain and the Indies, the ſucceſſion to thoſe dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince as ſhall be agreed on at the treaty, for ever excluding the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſettlements before-mentioned, 'tis further offered, that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſtrong and ſolemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be guarantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it executes itſelf: the intereſt of Spain is to ſupport it; and in France, the perſons to whom that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

" France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the bleſſing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

" A treaty of commerce between theſe kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impoſſible to finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be deſired.

Care is taken, however, to eſtabliſh a method of ſettling this matter; and, in the mean time, proviſion is made, that the ſame privileges and advantages, as ſhall be granted to any other nation by France, ſhall be granted in like manner to us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, between us and the French, having been the cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to my ſubjects, I have demanded to have an abſolute ceſſion made to me of the whole iſland; and France agreeth to this demand.

" Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the trade of North-America, that I have uſed my utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the moſt beneficial manner. France conſenteth to reſtore to us the whole bay and ſtreights of Hudſon, to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an abſolute ceſſion of Annapolis, with the reſt of Nova Scotia, or Arcadie, The ſafety of our home-trade will be the better provided for by the demoliſhing of Dunkirk.

" Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh intereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſecured by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, with the whole iſland of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade to Spain and the Weſt-Indies may in general be ſettled, as it was in the time of the late king of Spain, Charles II. and a particular

particular proviſion made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or may hereafter be granted, by Spain, to any other nation, ſhall be, in like manner, granted to the ſubjects of Great-Britain.

" But the part which we have borne in the proſecution of this war, intitling us to ſome diſtinction in the terms of peace, I have inſiſted, and obtained, that the aſſiento, or contract, for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with negroes, ſhall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the ſame manner as it hath been enjoyed by the French for ten years paſt.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the intereſts of our confederates; theſe muſt be adjuſted in the congreſs at Utrecht, where my beſt endeavours ſhall be employed, as they have hitherto conſtantly been, to procure to every one of them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Briſack, the fort of Kehl, and Landau, and to raze all the fortreſſes, both on the other ſide of the Rhine, and in that river.

" As to the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the reſettling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

" The Spaniſh Low-Countries may go to his imperial majeſty: the kingdom of Naples

and Sardinia; the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coaſt of Tuſcany, may likewiſe be yielded by treaty of peace to the emperor.

"As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remaineth no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it by the duke of Anjou, yet the diſpoſition thereof is not yet determined.

"The intereſts of the ſtates-general, with reſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own miniſters, with the exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of merchandize; and the intire barrier, as demanded by the ſtates in 1709 from France, except two or three places at moſt.

"As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients are propoſed; and I make no doubt but that this barrier may be ſo ſettled, as to render that republic perfectly ſecure againſt any enterprize on the part of France; which is the foundation of all my engagements upon this head with the ſtates.

"The demands of Portugal depending upon the diſpoſition of Spain, and that article having been long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs therein; but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to aſſiſt that king in his pretenſions.

"Thoſe of the king of Pruſſia are ſuch as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall not

not be wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good an ally.

" The difference between the barrier demanded for the duke of Savoy, in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconſiderable: but that prince having ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the common cauſe, I am endeavouring to procure for him ſtill greater advantages.

" France has conſented, that the elector-palatine ſhall continue his preſent rank among the electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate.

" The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowledged in the houſe of Hanover, according to the article inſerted, at that prince's deſire, in my demands.

" And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral intereſts.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I HAVE now communicated to you, not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects; but likewiſe the propoſals, for ſatisfying our allies.

" The former are ſuch as I have reaſon to expect, to make my people ſome amends for that great and unequal burthen which they have lain under, through the whole courſe of

this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her ſhare in the glory and advantage of it.

"The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but the ſeaſon of the year makeing it neceſſary to put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved no longer to defer communicating theſe matters to you.

"I can make no doubt, but you are fully perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progreſs of the negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and ſpeedy iſſue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your chearful concurrence with me."

The event of this buſineſs is ſo very well known, that we hold it quite unneceſſary to ſay any thing farther on the ſubject, this quotation having fully anſwered our purpoſe of demonſtrating, what difficulties the miniſter was involved in, whoſe ſtation and inclination obiged him to proſecute this plan in oppoſition to the different opinions of the many different ſects which ſprung up in an age ſo remarkable for its diſſentions and cabals, as to leave the greateſt reaſon to imagine his deſigns had been better executed, but for the interruptions he received.

Whig

Whig and Tory being two words which are often heard, but little underſtood, it ſeems but proper, in this place, to give the reader an account of what was meant by it in the days of thoſe patriots, which is done clearly by Swift in his Examiner.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

THERE have been certain topics of reproach, liberally beſtowed for ſome years paſt, by the Whigs and Tories, upon each other. We charge the former with a deſign of deſtroying the Eſtabliſhed Church, and introducing Fanaticiſm and Free-thinking in its ſtead. We accuſe them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the preſent form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or ſome new ſcheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other ſide, their clamours againſt us, may be ſummed up in thoſe formidable words, Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender.

Our accuſations againſt them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; ſuch as their perpetually abuſing the whole body of the clergy; their declared contempt for the very order of prieſthood; their averſion againſt epiſcopacy; the public encouragement and patronage they give to Tindall, Toland, and other atheiſtical writers; their appearing as profeſſed advocates, retained by the Diſſent-

ers; excuſing their ſeparation, and laying the guilt of it to the obſtinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the Teſt, and their ſetting up the indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences, as a point of greater importance than the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The regard they bear to our Monarchy, hath agreed by their open ridiculing the Martyrdom of king Charles the Firſt, in their Calves-head Clubs, their common diſcourſes, and their pamphlets: their denying the unnatural war raiſed againſt that prince, to have been a rebellion; their juſtifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their induſtry in publiſhing and ſpreading ſeditious and republican tracts; ſuch as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney on Government, and many others; their endleſs lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her majeſty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear; however, thoſe important words having, by dextrous management, been found of mighty ſervice to the cauſe, although applied with little colour, either of reaſon or juſtice, I have been conſidering whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to Popery, which is the firſt of theſe, to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any ſet of men among us, except the profeſſors of it, who have any intention to introduce it here; but

but the queſtion is, Whether the principles and practices of us, or the Whigs, be moſt likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that, among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the boſom of the catholic church, one of the chief was, to ſend Jeſuits, and other emiſſaries, in lay-habits; who perſonating tradeſmen and mechanics, ſhould mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer reformation, endeavour to divide us into as many ſects as poſſible; which would either put us under the neceſſity of returning to our old errors, to preſerve Peace at home; or, by our Diviſions, make way for ſome powerful neighbour, with the aſſiſtance of the pope's permiſſion, and a conſecrated banner, to convert and enſlave us at once.

If this hath been reckoned good politics, and it was the beſt the Jeſuit-Schools could invent, I appeal to any man, whether the Whigs, for many years paſt, have not been employed in the very ſame work? They profeſſed, on all occaſions, that they knew no reaſon why any one ſyſtem of Speculative Opinions, as they termed the doctrines of the church, ſhould be eſtabliſhed more by law than another; or why employments ſhould be confined to the religion of the magiſtrate, and that called the Church Eſtabliſhed. The grand maxim they laid down, was, That no man, for the ſake of a few Notions and Ceremonies, under the names

names of Doctrine and Diſcipline, ſhould be denied the liberty of ſerving his country; as if places would go a begging, unleſs Browniſts, Familiſts, Sweet Singers, Quakers, Anabaptiſts, and Muggletonians, would take them off our hands.

I have been ſometimes imagining this ſcheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would look to ſee half a dozen Sweet-Singers on the bench in their ermins, and two or three Quakers with their white ſtaves at court. I can only ſay, this project is the very counter-part of the late king James's deſign, which he took up as the beſt method for introducing his own religion, under the pretext of an univerſal Liberty of Conſcience; and that no difference in religion ſhould make any in his favour. Accordingly, to ſave appearances, he dealt ſome employments among Diſſenters of moſt denominations: and what he did, was, no doubt, in purſuance of the beſt advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the moſt dangerous ſtep he could take for her deſtruction. It is true, king James admitted Papiſts among the reſt, which the Whigs would not; but this is ſufficiently made up by a material circumſtance, wherein they ſeem to have much out-done that prince, and to have carried their Liberty of Conſcience to a higher point; having granted it to all the claſſes of Free thinkers, which the nice conſcience of a Popiſh Prince would not give him leave

leave to do; and was therein mightily overſeen; becauſe it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow ſtep from Atheiſm to the other extreme, Superſtition. So that, upon the whole, whether the Whigs had any real deſign of bringing in Popery or no, it is very plain, that they took the moſt effectual ſtep towards it; and, if the Jeſuits had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter ſcholars.

Their ſecond accuſation is, That we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes; and promote enſlaving doctrines among the people. This they go about to prove by inſtances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in king Charles the Second's reign; a decree of Oxford-univerſity, and ſome few writers ſince the Revolution. What they mean, is the principle of Paſſive obedience and Non reſiſtance, which thoſe who affirm, did, I believe, never intend ſhould include Arbitrary Power. However, although I am ſenſible that it is not reckoned prudent in a diſpute, to make any conceſſions without the laſt neceſſity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, ſome writers did carry that tenet of Paſſive-obedience to a height, which ſeemed hardly conſiſtent with the liberties of a country, whoſe laws can be neither enacted nor repealed, without the conſent of the whole people; I mean not thoſe who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is to the legiſla-

ture,

ture: but ſuch as fix it entirely in the prince's perſon. This laſt hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the Whigs quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abſtracted from their ſenate.

By thus freely declaring my own ſentiments of Paſſive-obedience, it will at laſt appear, that I do not write for a party; neither do I, upon any occaſion, pretend to ſpeak their ſentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houſes, and the preſent miniſtry, if thoſe be a party, ſeem to me, in all their proceedings, to purſue the real intereſt of church and ſtate: and, if I ſhall happen to differ from particular perſons among them, in a ſingle notion about government, I ſuppoſe they will not, upon that account, explode me and my paper. However, as an anſwer, once for all, to the tedious ſcurrilities of thoſe idle people, who affirm, I am hired and directed what to write; I muſt here inform them, that their cenſure is an effect of their principles: the preſent miniſtry are under no neceſſity of employing proſtitute pens; they have no dark deſigns to promote, by advancing Heterodox Opinions.

But, to return, ſuppoſe two or three private divines, under king Charles the Second, did a little over-ſtrain the doctrine of Paſſive-obedience to princes; ſome allowance might be given to the memory of that unnatural rebellion againſt his father, and the diſmal conſequences

quences of Reſiſtance. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never deſigned to introduce Arbitrary Power.

I look upon the Whigs and Diſſenters to be exactly of the ſame political faith; let us therefore ſee what ſhare each of them had in advancing Arbitrary Power. It is manifeſt, that the Fanaticks made Cromwell the moſt abſolute power in Chriſtendom; the Rump aboliſhed the Houſe of Lords; the Army aboliſhed the Rump; and by this Army of Saints he governed. The Diſſenters took Liberty of Conſcience and Employments from the late king James, as an acknowledgment of his Diſpenſing Power; which makes the king of England as abſolute as the Turk. The Whigs, under the late king, perpetually declared for keeping up a ſtanding-army in times of peace; which hath, in all ages, been the firſt and great ſtep to the ruin of liberty. They were, beſides, diſcovering every day their inclinations to deſtroy the rights of the church; and declared their opinion in all companies, againſt biſhops ſitting in the Houſe of Peers; which was exactly copying after their predeceſſors of Forty-one. I need not ſay, their real intentions were to make the king abſolute; but, whatever be the deſigns of innovating men, they uſually end in a tyranny; as we may ſee by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy mentioned by Machiavel.

In

In the third place, the Whigs accuſe us of a deſign to bring in the Pretender; and to give it a greater air of probability, they ſuppoſe the queen to be a party in this deſign; which, however, is no very extraordinary ſuppoſition in thoſe who have advanced ſuch ſingular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiſcard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an inſtance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that a year or two after the Revolution, ſeveral leaders of that party had their pardons ſent them by the late king James; and had entered upon meaſures to reſtore him, on account of ſome diſobligations they received from king William. Beſides, I would aſk, Whether thoſe who are under the greateſt ties of gratitude to king James, are not at this day become the moſt zealous Whigs? And, of what party thoſe are now who kept a long correſpondence with St. Germains?

It is likewiſe very obſervable, of late, that the Whigs, upon all occaſions, profeſs their belief of the Pretender's being no Impoſtor, but a real Prince, born of the late queen's body; which, whether it be true or falſe, is very unſeaſonably advanced, conſidering the weight ſuch an opinion muſt have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the Pretender himſelf puts his chief hopes in the friendſhip he expects from the Diſſenters and Whigs; by his choice

choice to invade the kingdom when the latter was moſt in credit: and he had reaſon to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his ſuppoſed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further; What could be more conſiſtent with the Whiggiſh notion of a Revolution-principle, than to bring in the Pretender? A Revolution-Principle, as their writings and diſcourſes have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually diſpoſing men to Revolutions: and this is ſuitable to the famous ſaying of a great Whig, that, "The more Revolutions the better;" which, how odd a maxim ſoever in appearance, I take to be the true characteriſtic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain Revolutions, he lies down to reſt: but heads under the dominion of the Moon, are for Perpetual Changes, and Perpetual Revolutions: beſides, the Whigs owe all their wealth to Wars and Revolutions; like the girl at Bartholomew-fair, who gets a penny for turning round an hundred times with ſwords in her hands.

To conclude, the Whigs have a natural faculty of bringing in Pretenders, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at laſt. How many Pretenders to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in theſe laſt twenty years? In ſhort, they have been ſometimes able to procure a majority of Pretenders in parliament; and wanted

wanted nothing to render the work compleat, except a Pretender at their head.

After this deſcription of the powerful diſſentions which then intruded on that harmony which is neceſſary to perfect the wiſeſt deſigns, our readers will leſs wonder to ſee the endeavours of this patriot fall ſo ſhort of expectation; and give reaſon to conjecture, that the wiſeſt of plans were frequently ſubverted by the diſcord of the time.

On the fifteenth of Auguſt, 1711, at a general aſſembly of the South-Sea company, he was choſen their governor, as he had been their founder and chief regulator. On the twenty-ſixth of October, 1712, he was elected a knight companion of the moſt noble order of the garter. On the twenty-ſeventh of July, 1714, he reſigned his ſtaff of lord-high-treaſurer of Great-Britain, at Kenſington, into the queen's hands; ſhe dying upon the firſt of Auguſt following. On the tenth of June, 1715, he was impeached by the houſe of commons of the crime of high-treaſon, and high crimes and miſdemeanours; and, on the ſixteenth, was committed to the Tower by the houſe of lords, where he ſuffered confinement till the firſt of July, 1717; and then, after a public trial, was acquitted by his peers. He died in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, on the twenty-firſt of May, 1724, after having been twice married.

Mr.

Mr. Pope has celebrated his memory in the following lines:

A ſoul ſupreme, in each hard inſtance try'd,
Above all pain, all anger, and all pride;
The rage of power, the blaſt of public breath,
The luſt of lucre, and the dread of death.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.